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Selections.

BLACK SOLDIERS IN BATTLE.

OFFICIAL REPORT OF COL. HIGGINSON.

[The following full and explicit official report of Col. T. W. Higginson records the gallant conduct of the negroes under fire, and their successful operations in Georgia and Florida.]

ON BOARD STEAMER BEN DEFORD, Sunday, Feb. 1, 1863.

Brig.-Gen. SAXTON, *Military Governor, etc.*

GENERAL: I have the honor to report the safe return of the expedition under my command, consisting of 462 officers and men of the First Regiment of South Carolina Volunteers, who left Beaufort on Jan. 23, on board the steamers John Adams, Planter and Ben Deford.

The expedition has carried the regimental flag and the President's proclamation far into the interior of Georgia and Florida. The men have been repeatedly under fire; have had infantry, cavalry and even artillery arrayed against them, and have, in every instance, come off, not only with unblemished honor, but with undisputed triumph. At Township, Fla., a detachment of the expedition fought a cavalry company which met us unexpectedly on a midnight march through pine woods, and which completely surrounded us. They were beaten off with a loss on our part of one man killed and seven wounded, while the opposing party admits twelve men killed (including Lieut. Jones, in command of the company), besides many wounded. So complete was our victory that the enemy scattered, hid in the woods all night, not returning to his camp, which was five miles distant, until noon next day; a fact which was unfortunately unknown until too late to follow up our advantage. Had I listened to the urgent appeals of my men, and pressed the flying enemy, we could have destroyed his camp; but in view of the darkness, his uncertain numbers and swifter motions, with your injunctions of caution, I judged it better to rest satisfied with the victory already gained.

On another occasion, a detachment of about 250 men, on board the John Adams, fought its way forty miles up and down a river, the most dangerous in the Department—the St. Mary's—a river left untraversed by our gunboats for many months, as it required a boat built like the John Adams to ascend it successfully. The stream is narrow, swift, winding, and bordered at many places with high bluffs, which blazed with rifle shots. With our glasses, as we approached these points, we could see mounted men by the hundreds galloping through the woods from point to point to await us, and though fearful of our shot and shell they were so daring against musketry that one rebel actually sprang from the shore upon the large boat which was towed at our stern, where he was shot down by one of my sergeants. We could see our shell scatter the rebels as they fell among them, and some terrible execution must have been done; but not a man of this regiment was killed or wounded, though the steamer is covered with bullet-marks, one of which shows where our brave Capt. Clifton, commander of the vessel, fell dead beside his own pilot-house, shot through the brain by a Minié ball. Maj. Strong, who stood beside him, escaped as if by magic, both of them being unnecessarily exposed without my knowledge. The secret of our safety was in keeping the regiment below except the gunners; but this required the utmost energy of the officers, as the men were wild to come on deck, and even implored to be landed on shore and charge on the enemy. Nobody knows anything about these men who has not seen them in battle. I find that I myself knew nothing. There is a fiery energy about them beyond anything of which I have ever read, unless it be the French Zouaves. It requires the strictest discipline to hold them in hand. During our first attack on the river, before I got them all penned below, they crowded at the open ends of the steamer, loading and firing with inconceivable rapidity and shouting to each other "Never give it up!" When collected into the hold they actually fought each other for places at the few port-holes from which they could fire on the enemy.

Meanwhile, the black gunners, admirably trained by Lieuts. Stockdale and O'Neil (both being accomplished artillerists), and Mr. Heron, of the gunboat, did their duty without the slightest protection and with great coolness, amid a storm of shot.

This river expedition was not undertaken in mere bravado. Capt. Sears, U. S. A., the contractor of Fort Clinch, had urged upon the War Department to endeavor to obtain a large supply of valuable brick, said to remain at the brick-yards thirty miles up the St. Marys, from which Fort Clinch was originally supplied. The War Department had referred the matter to Col. Hawley, who approved my offer to undertake the enterprise. Apart from this, it was the desire of Lieut. Hughes, U. S. N., commanding United States steamer Mohawk, now lying at Fernandina, to obtain information regarding a rebel steamer, the Berosa, said to be lying farther up the river, awaiting opportunity to run the blockade. Both objects were accomplished. I brought away all the bricks, and ascertained the Berosa to be worthless. I have the honor to state that I have on board the Ben Deford 250 bars of the best new railroad iron, valued at $5,000, and much needed in this Department. This was obtained in St. Simon's and Jehyer islands, Georgia, from abandoned rebel forts, a portion of it having been previously blown up and collected by Capt. Steedman, of the Paul Jones. I have also five large sticks of valuable yellow pine timber, said to be worth $700, which came from St. Mary's, Georgia. There is also a quantity of rice, resin, cordage, oars and other small matters, suitable for army purposes. On board the John Adams there is a flock of 25 sheep from Woodstock, Florida. I have turned over to Capt. Sears about 40,000 large sized bricks, valued at about $10,000, in view of the present high freights. I have also turned over to Judge Satia, Civil Provost-Marshal at Fernandina, four horses, four steers and a quantity of agricultural implements suitable for Mr. Helper's operations in that location.

I have seen with my own eyes, and left behind for want of means of transportation (and because brick was considered even more valuable), enough of the choicest Southern lumber to load five steamers like the Ben Deford—an amount estimated at more than a million feet, and probably worth at Hilton Head, $50,000. I also left behind, from choice, valuable furniture by the houseful—pianos, china, etc., all packed up for transportation, as it was sent inland for safe keeping. Not only were my officers and men forbidden to take any of these things for private use, but nothing was taken for public use save articles strictly contraband of war. No wanton destruction was permitted, nor were any buildings burned, unless in retaliation for being fired upon, according to the usages of war. Of course no personal outrage was permitted or desired.

At Woodstock I took six male prisoners whom I brought down the river as hostages, intending to land part of them before reaching Fernandina and release them on parole. But in view of the ferocious attacks made upon us from the banks, this would have seemed an absurd stretch of magnanimity, and by the advice of Col. Hawley I have brought them for your disposal.

At the same place we obtained a cannon and a flag, which I respectfully ask permission for the regiment to retain. We obtained also some trophies of a different description from a slave jail, which I shall offer for your personal acceptance: three sets of stocks, of different structure—the chains and staples used for confining prisoners to the floor, and the key of the building. They furnish good illustrations of the infernal barbarism against which we contend.

We return at the appointed time, though there are many other objects which I wish to effect, and our rations are not nearly exhausted. But the Ben Deford is crowded with freight, and the ammunition of the John Adams is running low. Capt. Hallet has been devoted to our interest, as was also, until his lamented death, the brave Capt. Clifton. Of the Planter I have hitherto said nothing, as her worn-out machinery would make her perfectly valueless but for the laborious efforts of Capt. Eddridge, and her engineer, Mr. Baker, aided by the unconquerable energy of Capt. Trowbridge, of Company A, who had the command on board. Thanks to this they were enabled, during our absence up the St. Mary's River, to pay attention to the salt works along the coast. Finding that the works at King's Bay, formerly destroyed by this regiment, had never been rebuilt they proceeded five miles up Crooked River, where salt works were seen. Capt. Trowbridge, with Capt. Rogers, of Company F, and thirty men, then marched two miles across a marsh, drawing a boat with them, and then sailed up a creek and destroyed the works. There were twenty-two large boilers, two storehouses, a large quantity of salt, two canoes, with barrels, and all things appertaining.

I desire to make honorable mention, not only of the above officers, but of Major Strong, Capts. James, Co. B, Randolph, Co. C, Metcalf, Co. G, and Dolly, Co. H. Indeed every officer did himself credit, so far as he had opportunity, while the cheerfulness and enthusiasm of the men made it a pleasure to command them.

We found no large numbers of slaves anywhere, yet we brought away several whole families and obtained by their means the most reliable information. I was interested to observe that the news of the President's proclamation produced a marked effect upon them, and in one case it was of the greatest service to us in securing the hearty aid of a guide, who was timid and distrustful till he heard that he was legally free, after which he aided us gladly, and came away with us.

My thanks are due, for advice and information, to Capt. Steedman, U. S. N., of the steamer Paul Jones; to Acting-Master Moses, U. S. N., of the bark Fernandina; to Acting-Lieut. Budd, U. S. N., of the steamer Potomska, for information and counsel, and especially to Lieut.-Commanding Hughes, U. S. N., of the steamer Mohawk, for twenty tons of coal, without which we could not have gone up the river.

I may state, in conclusion, that I obtained much valuable information, not necessary to make public, in regard to the location of supplies of lumber, iron, rice, resin, turpentine and cotton; and it would afford the officers and men of this regiment great pleasure to be constantly employed in obtaining these supplies for the government from rebel sources. But they would like still better to be permitted to occupy some advanced point in the interior, with a steamer or two like the John Adams, and an adequate supply of ammunition. We could obtain to a great extent our own provisions, and rapidly enlarge our numbers, and could have information in advance of every movement against us. A chain of such posts would completely alter the whole aspect of the war in the seaboard slave States, and would accomplish what no accumulation of Northern regiments can so easily effect.

No officer in this regiment now doubts that the key to the successful prosecution of this war lies in the unlimited employment of black troops. Their superiority lies simply in the fact that they know the country, which white troops do not; and, moreover, that they have peculiarities of temperament, position, and motive which belong to them alone. Instead of leaving their homes and families to fight, they are fighting for their homes and families, and they show the resolution and sagacity which a personal purpose gives. It would have been madness to attempt with the bravest white troops what I have successfully accomplished with black ones.

Everything, even to the piloting of the vessel, and the selection of the proper points for cannonading, was done by my own soldiers, [illegible] conductor of the whole expedition at the St. Mary's was Corporal Robert Sutton, of Company G, formerly a slave upon the St. Mary's River—a man of extraordinary qualities, who needs nothing but a knowledge of the alphabet to entitle him to the most signal promotion. In every instance where I followed his advice the predicted result followed, and I never departed from it, however slightly, without having reason for subsequent regret.

I have the honor to be, etc.,
T. W. HIGGINSON, Col.-Com.
First Regiment South Carolina Vols.

MR. SEWARD ON M. MERCIER'S VISIT TO RICHMOND.

From The Evening Post.

WE printed some days ago the translation of a dispatch from M. Mercier to his government, giving an account of circumstances which he alleged led to his visiting Richmond last April. The French Minister there asserted plainly that he made this visit at the suggestion of Mr. Seward, and that he bore a message from the Secretary of State to the rebel chiefs. The following passages of this remarkable dispatch we reprint here for the convenience of the reader. M. Mercier says:

"I concluded that from the moment I undertook this voyage, with the acquiescence so thorough of the Secretary of State—almost, as it seemed, in compliance with his desire—it would be easy for me, by the exercise of a little prudence, to prevent any inconvenient result," etc.

And again he writes:

"It was understood, besides, that I should report to Mr. Seward only what I was authorized to repeat to him. Mr. Seward said to me that I might add, if I found an opportune occasion, that in his conference with North was animated by no sentiment of vengeance, and that for himself he should with pleasure find himself again in the Senate in the presence of all those whom the South thought fit to send thither."

These are the parts of the dispatch which led to a resolution, passed in the Senate February 9th, asking the President to communicate

—"the character of the suggestions made by the Secretary of State of the United States to M. Mercier, the representative of the Emperor of the French to this government, as narrated in his communication to M. Thouvenel, under the date of the 13th of April last, which induced M. Mercier to undertake his mission to Richmond in that month, and what representations, if any, he was authorized to make from this government, or from the Secretary of State, to the Confederate authorities."

In reply to this the Secretary of State sent in to the Senate yesterday the following report:

"That no suggestions were made to M. Mercier by the Secretary of State that induced, or were designed or calculated to induce, him to undertake a mission to Richmond in April last, or at any other time. He was not then, nor has he or any other person ever been, authorized by this government or by the Secretary of State to make any representations of any kind or on any subject to the insurrectionary agents or so-called authorities at Richmond, or to hold any communication with them on behalf of this government.

"From the beginning of the present disturbances until the Spring of 1862, this department was charged with the authority of granting passes or passports through the lines of the government forces. It early became a question whether foreign ministers residing in the United States should be denied such passports. It was thought a sound and liberal policy to leave them free to visit any part of the country to which they are accredited, so long as there should be no ground to question their good faith towards this government. This has been uniformly avowed as the rule of the government. Accordingly a passport was granted in the month of April, 1861, to his Excellency Rudolph Schleiden, Minister resident here of the republic of Bremen. A like passport was granted in August, 1861, to the French Minister, attended by his Royal Highness the Prince Jerome Napoleon, then on a visit at this Capital; and in April last a similar passport to the French Minister. Those passports were granted at the request of these distinguished persons respectively, and not on any suggestion of the government or Secretary of State. They severally travelled in a private and unofficial capacity. They bore no communication, whether formal or informal, verbal or written, from this government or from the Secretary of State to any of the insurgents, and they brought none from any such person to this government or to the Secretary of State. Since the 4th of March 1861, no communication, direct or indirect, formal or informal, has been held by this government or by the Secretary of State with the insurgents, their aiders or abettors. No passport has been granted to any foreign minister to pass the military lines, except by the President's direction, and each of such ministers who has received such passports has, upon his return, waited upon the President, as well as the Secretary of State, and given them such account, unasked as he thought proper of the incidents of his journey. Of course, these statements are to be qualified so far as the facts relating to communications concerning the exchange of prisoners and other military matters in charge of the War Department may affect them.

"Respectfully submitted: WILLIAM H. SEWARD.
"Department of State, Washington, Feb. 9, 1863."

Special Dispatch to The New York Tribune.

WASHINGTON, Thursday, Feb. 12—10 p.m.

There is great excitement in diplomatic circles over the official communication of the Secretary of State, denying the statements of the French Minister that he went to Richmond at the suggestion of Mr. Seward, and that he bore a friendly message from him to the insurgents. It is asserted in some salons that nothing less can come of the issue of veracity thus made than the recall of M. Mercier by his government, and the suspension, meantime, of official intercourse between him and our Secretary.

ABOU BEN. BUTLER.

Abou Ben Butler (may his tribe increase!)
Awoke one night down by the old Balize,
And saw, outside the comfort of his room,
Making it warmer for the gathering gloom,
A black man shivering in the Winter's cold:—
Exceeding courage made Ben Butler bold,
And to the presence in the dark he said—
"What wantest thou?"—The figure raised its head,
And with a look made of all sad accord,
Answered—"The men who'll serve the purpose of the Lord."
"And am I one?" said Butler. "Nay, not so,"
Replied the black man. Butler spoke more low,
But cheerly still; and said, "*As I am Ben,*
You'll not have cause to tell me that again!"

The figure bowed, and vanished. The next night
It came once more, environed strong in light,
And showed the names whom love of Freedom blessed,
And, lo! Ben. Butler's name led all the rest!
—*Boston Transcript.*

NEW CASE OF MILITARY LAW.

A NEGRO A COMPETENT WITNESS.

A MILITARY Commission was convened at Danville, Ky., on the 14th day of January, 1863, for the trial of Wm. Harness, a citizen, upon the charge of shooting at a negro boy (an officer's servant) within the camp of the 3d Division of the Army of Kentucky. The Court consisted of: Col. J. P. Baird, 85th Indiana Vols.; Lieut.-Col. Sheets, 92d Illinois Vols.; Capt. Hays, 115th Illinois Vols.; Lieut.-Col. Crane, 85th Indiana Vols., Judge-Advocate.

On the trial the Judge-Advocate offered the negro boy as a witness against the prisoner. The prisoner objected to his admission, on the ground of his color. In overruling the objection, Col. Baird delivered the opinion of the Court as follows: "An objection is made by the prisoner to the competency of the negro boy Harrison, who is offered as a witness in this case. The prisoner's counsel put the objection upon the ground that by the statutes of Kentucky a negro is prohibited from testifying in a case in which a white person is a party, and as this Court is now in session in the State of Kentucky, the Court should be governed by the law of Kentucky on the subject of evidence. And it is urged that Military Courts should conform to the rule adopted by the Federal Courts of civil law, which adapt their rulings on evidence to the law of the State in which the session is held. But, admitting the correctness or policy of this rule of the Federal Courts in the civil law, it would be manifestly unjust if applied to military offenses tried by military courts, for in military courts the venue is unimportant, and a crime committed in Louisiana by an officer or soldier may be tried in New York by a military court, and he might be convicted on negro testimony under the laws of the State where the Court is held. Whereas, if tried in the State where the offence was committed, negroes could not testify against him. Military courts are movable—they follow the army—and a trial might be commenced in one State and finished in another, and thus the laws of two States might be brought to bear in one trial, and their laws might conflict on the subject of evidence. Suppose a court-martial should be held for our army in a foreign country, the army would carry into the invaded country the laws of the United States for the government of armies. What would be the rule on this question? which should be followed, New York or South Carolina? One admits, the other excludes negroes. We think that military courts do not regard the laws of States upon evidence.

"Military courts in this country, in all their proceedings not defined by Congress, are governed by the usages and customs of war among civilized nations, and these usages and customs are regulated by international law, and in the United States the common law of England on the subject of evidence has been generally followed by all writers on military law. And when we come to examine the law of nations, we find there is no distinction between races, nor does color affect a person, nor does the common law of England make any distinction.

"The counsel for the prisoner seems to labor under the impression that by the common law slaves are not competent witnesses. But so far from this being true, the common law denies the whole doctrine of slavery, and Sir William Blackstone clearly refutes every proposition ever asserted, upon which slavery was based. If, then, negroes are not incompetent by the usages and customs of war as founded on international law, nor by the common law of England, upon which our whole system of jurisprudence is based, it would follow that they are competent to testify in this Court, unless there is an act of Congress prohibiting them from testifying.

"And negroes would be competent witnesses in civil courts of every State in the Union if there was not a State law prohibiting them, for the common law of England prevails in all the States (except Louisiana), in all cases where it is not contravened by written express State laws, and by that common law negroes are competent.

"But we are not without precedents upon this point. Dr. Fellows was tried by court-martial in New York, in 1838; he offered a negro as a witness in his behalf; this was objected to, and after deliberation the Court decided he was competent, and the negro was sworn. And this ruling was approved by the reviewing authority.

"The same question arose in the case of Lieut. Hove, of the navy, who was tried before a court-martial in 1839 in Florida. Two negroes were offered as witnesses against him. He objected, and raised the same point involved in this case. He insisted that, as the negroes were incompetent by the laws of the State of Florida, the court-martial should follow that law. The evidence was admitted, and Lieut. Hove appealed to the President of the United States, urging the same objection. But the action of the Court was approved, and the sentence carried into effect by the Naval Department, under the sanction of the President, who, in the absence of the Attorney-General, took the opinion of Mr. Key, the District-Attorney of the United States for the District of Columbia. Mr. Key said, 'The officers of the court-martial were bound to admit the witness, unless some legal disqualification was shown. This could only be done by a law of Congress.' And we concur in this opinion. Whether Congress should pass such a law, in view of the existing prejudice entertained against negro evidence by a large portion of the inhabitants of the United States, is not a question for us to decide. Our duty is to decide the law as we find it, not to make laws. Every member of the Court resides in States in which negroes are excluded from giving testimony against white persons by as stringent laws as those of Kentucky, and the majority of the inhabitants of these States entertain as strong prejudice on the subject as do the citizens of Kentucky.

"And in admitting this negro as a witness, as under the law we feel bound to do, we do not conceive that we violate the rights or feelings of any citizen of Kentucky, nor that we treat the laws of the State with contempt or disrespect. The same decision would be made by this Court in Indiana or Illinois.

"The objection is overruled; the witness will be sworn, and his color will go to his credibility."—*Missouri Democrat.*

THE WEN ON THE NATION'S FACE.—That man, I think, is parted from his senses, who denies that the general nature and intent of this government is the securing of equal justice and of liberty upon the basis of the natural rights of man. I know some men say that slavery is a part of our institutions, and a part of the Constitution; that it was recognized, and was intercalated among other principles of this Constitution and these institutions. I deny it. I declare that this Union, and the Constitution of this Union, were formed for justice and for freedom explicitly and avowedly, and not for slavery at all. Was there no recognition of slavery in them? Yes. On the neck of this country was found a little wen; and there was a consultation of physicians as to whether it had better be cut off; and they concluded that it was not advisable to use the knife, owing to some delicacy on the part of the patient. But it was thought that the strength of the constitution and the tendencies of things were such that the wen would be absorbed; and therefore it was let alone. But so far from their opinion being correct, the wen began to grow, and grow, and crowd the head one side, and declare that it was the equal of the natural organs of the body; and now it has assumed such proportions that it is proposed by politicians, for the safety of the body, to cut the head off, and make room for the wen! New England is to go out, that slavery may come in!—*H. W. Beecher.*

THE FRENCH MEDIATION PROJECT.

THE PROPOSITION OF THE FRENCH GOVERNMENT.

[Extracts of a dispatch from Drouyn de L'Huys, French Minister of Foreign Affairs, to M. Mercier, Minister of France at Washington, dated Paris, Jan. 9, 1863.]

WE do not at all question the right of the Federal government to decline the coöperation *(concours)* of the great maritime powers of Europe. But this coöperation, is not the only means which offers itself to the Cabinet at Washington, to hasten the close of the war, and if it believes that it ought to repel any foreign intervention, could it not honorably accept the idea of direct *(pour parlers)* informal conference with the authority which may represent the States of the South?

The opening of informal conferences between the belligerent parties does not necessarily imply the immediate cessation of hostilities. Negotiations about peace are not always the consequence of a suspension of warfare. They precede, on the contrary, more often the establishment of a truce. How many times have we not seen plenipotentiaries meet, exchange communications, agree upon all the essential provisions of treaties—resolve, in fine, the question even of peace or war—while the leaders of armies continued the strife, and endeavored, even to the latest moment, to modify, by force of arms, the conditions of peace?

To recall only one memory drawn from the history of the United States, the negotiations which consecrated their independence were commenced long before hostilities had ceased in the New World, and the armistice was not established until the act of the 30th November, 1782, which, under the name of provisional articles, embraced in advance the principal clause of the treaty of 1783. Nothing, therefore, would hinder the government of the United States, without renouncing the advantage which it believes it can attain by the continuation of the war, from entering upon informal conferences with the Confederates of the South, in case they should show themselves disposed thereto.

Representatives or Commissioners of the two parties could assemble at such point as it should be deemed proper to designate, and which could for this purpose be declared neutral. Reciprocal complaints would be examined into at this meeting. In place of the accusations which North and South mutually cast upon each other, at this time would be substituted an argumentative discussion of the interests which divide them. They would seek out by means of well ordered and profound deliberations whether these interests are definitively irreconcilable, whether separation is an extreme which can no longer be avoided, or whether the memories of common existence, whether the ties of any kind which have made of the North and of the South one sole and whole federative state, and have borne them on to so high a degree of prosperity, are not more powerful than the causes which have placed arms in the hands of the two populations. A negotiation, the object of which would be thus determinative, would not involve any of the objections raised against the diplomatic intervention of Europe, and, without giving birth to the same hopes as the immediate conclusion of an armistice, would exercise a happy influence on the march of events. Why, therefore, should not a combination which respects all the relations of the United States obtain the approbation of the Federal government.

Persuaded, on our part, that it is in conformity with their true interests, we do not hesitate to recommend it to their attention, and not having sought in the project of a mediation of the maritime powers of Europe any vain display of influence, we would applaud with entire freedom from all susceptibilities of self-esteem, the opening of a negotiation which would invite the two populations to discuss, without the coöperation of Europe, the solution of their differences.

I request you, sir, to give this assurance to the Cabinet of Washington, while commending to its wisdom counsels dictated by most sincere interest in the prosperity of the United States. You are moreover authorized, if Mr. Seward [illegible] to leave with him a copy of this dispatch.

THE ANSWER OF THE UNITED STATES.

[Extract of a dispatch from Hon. W. H. Seward, Secretary of State of the United States, to Mr. Dayton, American Minister at Paris, under date Feb. 6, 1863.]

When M. Drouyn De L'Huys shall come to review it in the light in which it must necessarily be examined in this country, I think he can hardly fail to perceive that it amounts to nothing less than a proposition that, while this government is engaged in suppressing an armed insurrection, with the purpose of maintaining the constitutional national authority and preserving the integrity of the country, it shall enter into diplomatic discussion with the insurgents upon the questions whether that authority shall not be renounced, and whether the country shall not be delivered over to disunion, to be quickly followed by ever-increasing anarchy.

If it were possible for the government of the United States to compromise the national authority so far as to enter into such debates, it is not easy to perceive what good results could be obtained by them. The commissioners must agree in recommending either that the Union shall stand or that it shall be voluntarily dissolved; or else they must leave the vital question unsettled, to abide at last the fortunes of the war. The government has not shut out knowledge of the present temper, any more than of the past purposes of the insurgents.

There is not the least ground to suppose that the controlling actors would be persuaded at this moment by any arguments which a National Commissioner could offer, to forego the ambition that has impelled them to the disloyal position they are occupying. Any commissioner who should be appointed by those actors, or through their dictation or influence, must enter the conference imbued with the spirit and pledged to the personal fortunes of the insurgent chiefs. The loyal people in the insurrectionary States would be unheard, and any offer of peace by this government on the condition of the maintenance of the Union must necessarily be rejected.

On the other hand, as I have already intimated, this government has not the least thought of relinquishing the trust which has been confided to it by the nation under the most solemn of all political sanctions; and if it had any such thought, it would have still abundant reason to know that peace proposed at the cost of dissolution would be immediately, universally and indignantly rejected by the American people. It is a great mistake that European statesmen make, if they suppose this people are demoralized.

Whatever in case of an insurrection, the people of France, or Great Britain or Switzerland, or of the Netherlands, would do to save their national existence, no matter how the strife might be regarded by, or affect foreign nations, just so much, and certainly no less, the people of the United States will do, if necessary, to save for the common benefit the region which is bounded by the Pacific and Atlantic coasts, and by the shores of the Gulf of St. Lawrence and Mexico, together with the free and common navigation of the Rio Grande, Missouri, Arkansas, Mississippi, Ohio, St. Lawrence, Hudson, Delaware, Potomac, and other national highways, by which this land, which to them is at once a land of inheritance and a land of promise is opened and watered.

Even if the agents of the American people, thus exercising their power, should, through fear or faction, fall below the height of national virtue, they would be speedily, yet constitutionally, replaced by others of sterner character and patriotism. I must be allowed to say, also, that M. Drouyn De L'Huys errs in his description of the parties to the present conflict. * * * * * * *

It is true, indeed, that peace must come some time, and that conferences must attend, if they are not allowed to precede the pacification. There is, however, a better form for such conferences than the one which M. Drouyn De L'Huys suggests. The latter would be palpably in derogation of the Constitution of the United States, and would carry no weight, because destitute of the sanction necessary to bind either the loyal or disloyal portions of the people.

On the other hand, the Congress of the United States furnishes a constitutional forum for debates between the alienated parties. Senators and representatives from the loyal people are there always, fully empowered to confer, and seats are also vacant inviting the Senators and Representatives of the discontented party who may be constitutionally sent there from the States involved in the insurrection.

Moreover, the conferences which can thus be held in Congress have this great advantage over any that could be organized on the plan of M. Drouyn De L'Huys, viz: That Congress, if it thought wise, would call a National Convention to adopt its recommendations, and give them all the solemnity and binding force of organic war. Such conferences between the alienated parties may be said to have already begun.

Maryland, Virginia, Kentucky, Tennessee and Missouri, States which are claimed by the insurgents, are already represented in Congress, and are submitting, with perfect freedom and in a proper spirit, their advice upon the course best calculated to bring about, in the shortest time, a firm, lasting and honorable peace. Representatives have been sent, also, from Louisiana, and others are understood to be coming from Arkansas.

There is a preponderating argument in favor of the Congressional form of conference, over that which is suggested by M. Drouyn De L'Huys, viz.: that while accession to the latter would bring the government into concurrence with the insurgents in disregarding and setting aside an important part of the Constitution of the United States, and so would be of pernicious example; the Congressional conference, on the contrary, preserves and gives new strength to that sacred instrument, which must continue through future ages the sheet anchor of the Republic.

You will be at liberty to read this dispatch to M. Drouyn De L'Huys, and to give him a copy if he shall desire it.

BRITISH RAGE FOR SLAVERY.—There is no denying that a rage for slavery has taken possession of England. It is not absolutely everywhere, because here and there are symptoms of the seven thousand men who have not bowed the knee to Baal. But the great majority of mouths have kissed him. Your leading men are either cold, or renegade. To be in earnest, is to be put down. The press is rampant, and as virulent as if its blood had run through negro-drivers since the flood. Your manufacturing magnates foolishly place their hopes of cotton in the restoration of slavery; and the operatives' good sense is kept down, by the necessity of taking a crust from anybody that offers it. Counties and ridings whence emancipation once went forth conquering and to conquer, hide themselves in prudent silence, with the exception of a few voices the enemy derides as nothing and nobody's. With these brief reservations, the whole head is sick and the whole heart faint. A mock resistance is in some places kept up, with the view of attracting the defence and having it in hand. Special care they will take, to do nothing that shall be injurious to slave-grown cotton.—*T. Perronet Thompson.*

MEN GOD'S INSTRUMENTS.—This conflict with despotism is not one that has sprung up suddenly, it is not new, nor has it arisen from human passions because it is working its way through them. I remember well, when I was a boy, upon one bitter windy March morning, as the old button-ball trees roared over against my father's house, saying, as I went forth mittened and buttoned and pitapat, "I wish every tree was cut down, so that it would not be so cold"; for I heard the wind in the trees roaring, and I thought that it was the trees that made the wind. Now there are, not children fools, but grown-up fools, that say, "If this man was hung, and that man was cut down, we would have peace." As if, because God sends his influences through men, they were themselves the cause of the influences. It is not the trumpet that makes the noise, but the man that blows through the trumpet. And no man will succeed in putting an end to the great movement that has been inaugurated in our day by stretching the neck of a Phillips, a Garrison, and a Greeley, until he reaches Him that speaks through them; and then it may prove again that the crucifixion of the highest is the foundation of immortal victories.—*H. W. Beecher.*

THE RULE OF GEN. BANKS IN NEW ORLEANS.

ATROCIOUS CONDUCT OF COL. JONAS H. FRENCH.

Correspondence of The Boston Traveller.

ST. CHARLES HOTEL, NEW ORLEANS, Jan. 25.

ON Tuesday evening last, at 8½ o'clock, while passing up St. Charles street, in company with F. S. Schell, Esq., the artist of Frank Leslie's Pictorial, who is attached to the Banks Expedition, I was suddenly accosted by two colored women, one of whom, a beautiful mulatto, very tastily attired, besought me to protect her from the watchmen, who, she said, were following close behind her on the opposite side of the street, and were about to arrest her and her mother for being out without passes.

I offered her and her mother all the protection in my power, until they should reach their home, which was but a few blocks distant, and I had but scarcely made the proffer, when two powerful and muscular watchmen came running across the street, club in hand, and at once proceeded to arrest the women. I inquired of the officers by what authority they arrested slaves, or free colored people; they informed me that they were acting under orders received from the Chief of Police, Col. Jonas H. French.

The women begged with tears in their eyes for their liberty, that they might return to their homes, where a sister was lying dangerously ill, and towards whom they were hastening when seized by the watchmen. Being enough of a "Yankee Abolitionist" to feel a glow of indignation at this flagrant violation of human rights, and as I supposed illegal assumption of power, I proceeded to the prison or watch-house, adjoining the City Hall, from the roof of which flies the flag of freedom.

What a sight was revealed to me on my visit to that prison! Such a scene may I never be permitted to visit again. Securing permission, I went into the corridor, from which lead the cells. There I saw in one cell, 15 feet by 20 feet, fifty colored women and girls, packed like so many cattle; there were six or eight wooden berths, with *pine mattrasses* and *oak pillows*, for these poor creatures to rest their limbs upon. Of course, the most of them were obliged to stand uprightly, or lay upon the wet flooring of the cell.

I never shall forget the emotions that arose within my bosom, as I stood intently gazing upon the sorrowing faces of these unfortunates, as they cast wistful glances through the heavy iron bars of their cell, and in supplicating tones implored me to secure them their release. One pretty young girl of fifteen, with a beautiful face, and whose complexion was that of a pretty Boston brunette, and with long flowing hair, slightly crimpled, was sobbing as though her heart would break, for her mother. She was terrified at the surroundings of her new position and the hideous yells of drunken soldiers and sailors in the next cell.

There were confined in this cell, several women that in New York or Boston would pass for white women, without the slightest difficulty or suspicion. And there were many darker countenances in that cell, that were intelligent, and indicated the existence and beating of hearts beneath those tinged and sable hues. In the opposite cells were over one hundred colored men and boys, of all colors, from the ebony thick-lipped African, to the mulatto, and delicately tinged colored man. They were there from all ages, from the little child of nine years, to the aged and decrepid negro of seventy-five. There were the dandy darkie, slave and free, the laborer, slave and free, the mechanic and waiter, slave and free.

Some of these men were the fathers, husbands and brothers of the women in the opposite cells. It was but a little while after, when the jailor having barred the door which leads into the stone corridor, I heard distinctly the swelling notes of "John Brown's body lies mouldering," etc., and shortly after the grand chorus of an ancient Methodist hymn, "For Jesus' sake we'll serve the Lord." The next evening I visited the cells, and found that nearly all who had been imprisoned the previous evening had been released, on paying a fine of one dollar and a quarter for free people, and one dollar and a half for slaves.

There were several likely-looking negro girls still in the cell, and three mothers. All of these mothers had sons in the Union army, enlisted in the colored native guard regiment. One of them had *three* sons in one regiment, the other had two sons, her only children, and the third, her only child, a boy of nineteen years, was a sergeant in a colored company. These mothers were all the *property* of rebels, for they told me their masters and mistresses swore they would "never take the oath of allegiance to the Abolition Yankee government." I asked them how they happened to be imprisoned, and was informed that their masters and mistresses had them "sent to prison for safe-keeping."

One mother told me she was always treated well until her sons joined the negro regiment, since which time she has been whipped and otherwise sadly abused. She was not allowed so much liberty at home, and her mistress had put her off on a short allowance of food, because she did not prevent her sons from enlisting.

Here is a verbatim copy of the official order requiring the arrest, by the police, of all colored people found in the streets. Beyond the simple written notice, nothing more has been made public in regard to this important matter:

OFFICE CHIEF OF POLICE.

Lieut. J. Duan: You are hereby ordered to arrest all negroes out without passes after 8½ p.m.

By order of Col. J. H. FRENCH,
Prov.-Marshal Gen. and Chief of Police.

Notices of this kind were sent to all the station-houses, and were posted in the offices. It is a most despotic law to put in force at such an hour as this, to protect the property in the shape of human flesh and blood, in God's creatures, belonging, or *owned*, as they say, by the very fiends who have no compulsion at shedding the precious life's blood of our sons and brothers, husbands and fathers!

We, who profess to be Christian people, contributing blood and treasure for the suppression of this cursed rebellion, are now called upon to provide cells for the safe-keeping of their slaves!

The following private letter (says the New York *Tribune*) from a colored man in New Orleans, cancelling an order he had previously sent to New York for a banner, may throw some light on the state of things in the Southern metropolis:

SIR: If you have not had the banner commenced, it is useless to have it made at all, as, since the issuing of the President's proclamation, Jonas H. French has stopped all of our night-meetings, and has caused us to get permits to hold meetings on Sunday, and sends his police around to all of the colored churches every Sunday, to examine all of the permits. He had all the slaves that were turned out of their former owner's yards rearrested and sent back, those who belonged to rebels as well as those who belonged to loyal persons. The slaves were mustered into the rebel army. He has them confined in jail to starve and die, and refuses their friends to see them. He is much worse than our rebel masters, he being the Chief of Police. Last night, after Gen. Banks left the city, Col. French issued a secret order to all the police stations to arrest all the negroes who may be found in the streets, and at the places of amusement, and placed in jail. There were about five hundred, both free and slave, confined, without the least notice or cause—persons who thought themselves free by the President's proclamation, from the parishes of Natchetibes, Ouachita, Rapides, Catahoula, Concordia, Aragnles, Jaques, Iberville, West Baton Rouge, Point Coopee, Filicicana, East Baton Rouge, St. Helena, Washington, St. Sammany. Free persons of color from any of these parishes who are found within the limits of the city, are immediately arrested and placed in jail by order of Col. French. Therefore, it is useless to have the banner made, as there is no use for it since Gen. Butler has left. R. E. T.

Correspondence of The New York Times.

NEW ORLEANS, Jan. 29.

I am sorry to say that the President's 1st of January proclamation does not work very smoothly; whether through any inherent clumsiness in the machine, or carelessness and apathy in the engineers who are driving it, or both causes combined, I really don't know. But one thing certain is, that freedom and slavery have, somehow or other, got so jumbled up and confused here that it is hard to tell which is boss.

What with freedom being proclaimed in some parts of the State, while other parts are exempted—the injuries inflicted by confounding those who are slaves with those who are not—the alternate raising and crushing the hopes of slave-owners, by inducing them to expect a return of their power, at the same time that every step apparently only takes them further from their object—all go to keep the place in a perfect state of nervous excitement. In the meantime—as always happens in such cases—the intermediate weakest party, about whom all this wrangling is going on, comes in for buffets on all sides. The poor colored man, whether free or slave, finds himself a shuttlecock between two battledores—or like an unfortunate fish for which two greedy pelicans are contending.

As might naturally be expected, this attempt to be carrying out two antagonistic programmes at the same time has already given rise to no end of abuses and disorders. A few evenings ago, the whole city was thrown into great commotion by the simultaneous arrest of all colored people in the streets, of every age, sex and condition of life, huddling them all into jail. As this was done without any previous notice or adv

government of the United States, and not construing the President's proclamation as warranting it, have prepared the following respectful address, which is to be delivered to the proper authorities to-morrow :

To his Excellency Brig.-Gen. GEORGE F. SHEPLEY, *Military Governor of Louisiana.*

The petition of the undersigned respectfully represents :

That they are free colored persons, and natives of this State and city, and all of them born free, as well as their parents before them ; that they are loyal citizens of the United States, devotedly attached to the Constitution thereof, and to the preservation of the unity of its government and the absolute maintainance of its laws ; that many of them are owners of real estate, and all of them owners of movable property, as such, contributing by the payment of taxes to the support of the government ; that many of them are engaged in trade and commercial occupations, and others of them engaged in mechanical and industrial pursuits ; that they are all law-abiding citizens, and have uniformly conducted themselves in an orderly and peaceable manner ; and that among them are to be found many of the descendants of those brave men of color whom the illustrious Jackson did not hesitate to address as his "fellow-citizens," and to summon to the field of battle to repel the enemies of their country.

Your petitioners further show that by the laws of Louisiana they are not only entitled to the privileges of free men, but the presumption of law lies in favor of their freedom ; that as early as the year 1810 in the case of Adele *vs.* Beauregard, 1 Martin's Reports, page 183, in the Superior Court of the Territory of Orleans, Judge F. X. Martin presiding, it was held "that persons of color are presumed to be free," that in the case of the State *vs.* Cecil in the Superior Court of the State of Louisiana in 1812, Matthews, Lewis and Martin, Judges, reported in 2d Martin, 208, the Attorney-General offered a woman of color as a witness, the Court said : "The woman being of color, the presumption is that she is 'born free' "; that these views were reaffirmed in Pilie *vs.* Lalande *et al.*, 7 Martin, new series, p. 648, and have ever since been the well-settled principles of the jurisprudence and law of this State.

Now your petitioners respectfully represent that latterly, in defiance of the laws of Louisiana, as above set forth, and to the great injury and vexation of petitioners and the other free persons of color of this city, a large number of free persons of color have been arrested in the public streets, while peaceably pursuing their private business, and thrust into prison without any legal cause whatever, but upon the frivolous, vexatious and unjust pretext that they had not with them, and upon their persons, free papers or documents proving them to be free ; which papers are in no case necessary, as petitioners are by law presumed to be free, and in many cases cannot be had even if necessary, since many of them have been free for several generations.

Your petitioners further respectfully represent that Major J. M. Bell, while acting as Provost Judge in this city, recognized the legal rights of the class to which your petitioners belong, in the case of Henry Dominique.

Wherefore your petitioners pray your Excellency for relief in the premises, and that such order shall be made as will cause their rights and the legal presumption established in their favor to be respected, and that henceforth they may be delivered from vexatious and illegal arrest and confinement, and directions issued to the police and all in authority to respect the presumption of law in favor of their freedom, and to make no arrests except in cases of violation of law and as in the case of other citizens.

UNION MEETINGS.

In spite of these depressing influences, which have so suddenly come upon them, the Unionists of New Orleans have not lost heart, but bear up with apparently stouter zeal under each fresh discouragement. Union meetings are frequently held, in which the boldest sentiments of loyalty are fearlessly uttered.

A large one was recently held in the Third District, at the Recorder's Court, at which the venerable Anthony Fernanges spoke. This noble-hearted old patriot can go back to the days of Andrew Jackson, by whom he was known and respected. He is not only a life-long resident of this State, but was a large slave-owner at the commencement of the war. When such as he are found standing nobly by the flag of their fathers, ignoring all other issues, and forfeiting all worldly personal interests, surely their opinions are entitled to the deepest reverence.

Correspondence of The Boston Journal.

Singular scenes, adverse to the spirit of the proclamation of Emancipation and revolting to humanity, have recently been witnessed in the Lafourche district, where not a little excitement has prevailed in consequence of the attempts of numerous planters to recover their runaway slaves after the good old Southern fashion. A certain Provost Judge, Lieut.-Col. Lull, of the Eighth New Hampshire regiment, has been notorious for his eagerness to pander to the brutality of the "owners" of human chattels. Being stationed at Thibodeaux, he was obliging enough to issue proclamations to the effect that the planters might take their fugitive slaves by force wherever they could find them within our lines. In the prosecution of this ennobling duty, instances have come to my knowledge in which our soldiers have been employed. In and about Thibodeaux negro men and women have been hunted, captured, thrown to the ground, bound with cords, placed in carts, and conveyed under guard of cavalrymen to the places of their involuntary servitude. One poor fellow was chased into a bayou, and there drowned. The planters not unfrequently bribe the soldiers to this work. On being taxed with this by Capt. Goodrich, the Provost Marshal, one caught in the act answered as follows : "How do you suppose we are going to get our niggers unless you help us? What are you here for ?"

NEGROES SEIZED FOR THE FRENCH ARMY.

Correspondence of The Evening Post.

PARIS, January, 23, 1863.

THE new state secret which has suddenly leaked out—no one knows how—develops a curious phase of French policy, not in the least creditable to any of the parties concerned. Before this letter reaches you, information will have been received of the transportation of a shipload of negroes from Egypt to Mexico, for the service of the French army. It was intended to keep this movement a profound mystery, but there are birds of the air who carry news, and the facts are already pretty well ascertained, the development having occupied a shorter period than that of Mr. Odo Russell's offer to the Pope on behalf of the English government.

The government transport steamer La Seine arrived at the port of Alexandria in the last days of December, with French troops for Cochin-China, and on the night of the 7th of January a body of police was sent down to the harbor to seize all the negro boatmen who could be found, and transport them secretly to the steamer, which had quietly dropped down to Meks—a place at the entrance of the harbor—for the purpose of receiving them. Steam was up, the darkness favored the process of transhipment, and away went the steamer with a "valuable cargo" of five hundred blacks, heading straight for Mexico. This is the last anybody in the Eastern World has seen or heard of these unfortunate negroes. The unlooked-for disclosure of this deed (literally a deed of darkness) has created a prodigious excitement here, for men had conceived the idea that France had pronounced against the slave trade, however much the sympathies of her government yearned towards the slave-masters of your Southern States. The semi-official explanation of the affair, which has been wrung forth by the cry of popular wonder and indignation, is to the effect that the late Viceroy of Egypt had agreed to supply the French government with a regiment of one thousand negroes to serve with the army in Mexico ; but it is presently added that this service was not intended to be military, but servile. The blacks were taken to perform the hard labor under a tropical sun which wilts the unaccustomed muscle and bakes the rattle-box head of the French soldier. Egyptian negroes, used to the rays of a fiery sun, were regarded as exactly the article needed to perform the drudgery of digging earth, making roads, felling trees, and the work of fetching and carrying generally. It is not to be supposed that any of these helpless people will ever find their way back to their homes in Alexandria ; and it is needless to add that their sudden and violent abduction has filled all their fellows at home with the utmost consternation. If France can buy five hundred negroes from the Viceroy, why not five thousand ? is the pertinent query that is undoubtedly suggested to those who may very justly be termed the survivors.

[The following additional information is given by the Alexandria correspondent of the London *Times*, writing under date of January 18 :]

In writing by last post of the men who were embarked on board the Seine for Mexico, I mentioned a rumor that a number of townspeople had been impressed in the streets and embarked together with those brought for the express purpose from Cairo. This report, I regret to say, is perfectly true. Every negro the police could lay their hands upon was seized and forthwith dispatched to the French transport, without even being allowed to take leave of his family. It is also beyond a question that *the government were preparing a batch of men to form a second mission, but the indignant protest of the British, American and Austrian Consuls, besides the change of government that has now intervened, renders it altogether unlikely that the design will be carried into effect.* The only answer, I am informed, that the government have returned, is that they simply agreed to a request made to them by the French government, and that they could not for a moment entertain the idea that the request could have been made had there been anything in it wrong of itself or illegal.

NEUTRALITY AND FREEDOM OF THE PRESS IN FRANCE.—A correspondent communicates to the Boston *Transcript* the following fact :

"An American gentleman, resident in Paris, having received a copy of Gen. Butler's farewell address to the people of New Orleans, translated it and carried it to the editors of the *Siecle* for publication. They expressed great pleasure at receiving it and promised that it should appear in the next day's paper. But the next morning they notified this gentleman that they had received a caution ('*avis officieux*') from the government not to publish anything favorable to Gen. Butler."

National Anti-Slavery Standard.

WITHOUT CONCEALMENT—WITHOUT COMPROMISE.

NEW YORK, SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 21, 1863.

CORRESPONDENTS will greatly oblige us by a careful observance of the following directions, viz. :

Letters enclosing matter for publication, or relating in any way to the editorial conduct of the paper, should be addressed, "EDITOR OF THE ANTI-SLAVERY STANDARD, No. 48 BEEKMAN STREET, NEW YORK."

Letters enclosing subscriptions, or relating in any way to the business of the office, should be addressed, "PUBLISHER OF THE ANTI-SLAVERY STANDARD, No. 48 BEEKMAN STREET, NEW YORK."

SUBSCRIBERS to THE STANDARD in Pennsylvania will please remit their dues without delay to J. M. McKIM, Anti-Slavery Office, 106 North-Tenth st., Phil. Subscribers living in that city will confer a favor by not waiting as heretofore to be called upon by a collector.

New York State Anti-Slavery Convention.

THE Seventh Annual Anti-Slavery Convention for the State of New York will be held at ALBANY, in ASSOCIATION HALL, on WEDNESDAY and THURSDAY, Feb. 25th and 26th, commencing at 2½ o'clock, p.m., on Wednesday.

Slavery still continues in several States and parts of States, by the license of the Federal government. In *fact*, if not in *law*, it remains in existence mainly as hitherto in all the rebellious slave States. Therefore is there need of continued, earnest, conscientious anti-slavery effort. We rejoice in the overthrow of slavery in the District of Columbia, in the official proclamation of freedom to the three million of the enslaved, in the elevation of hitherto chattels to the position of soldiers, as in South Carolina, and elsewhere, and in such evidences as exist of an increased anti-slavery sentiment and purpose among the people. But the counsels of "Conservatism," as against Liberty, are still triumphantly prevalent. The champions of this pro-slavery "Conservatism," in this State, were never more active, bitter, and unscrupulous than now, in their exertions to fortify and strengthen slavery and rebellion. The masses need still to be admonished that only the Right is expedient, that in Liberty alone is there safety and prosperity for the nation.

Let there be a large attendance of the friends of freedom from all parts of the State at this annual meeting. We need a public opinion which shall reach the President and his subordinates, and secure the triumph of immediate, universal emancipation, as a life-saving, life-giving measure.

Parker Pillsbury, Theodore Tilton, Susan B. Anthony, A. M. Powell, and others, will address the Convention.

In behalf of the Committee of Arrangements,

A. M. POWELL.

THE FIRE IN THE REAR.

THE situation is growing more and more dubious, and that not so much from open rebellion on the other side of the Potomac as from treason scarcely less open on its hither shore. Malice domestic is growing a more alarming element in our affairs than foreign levy. The traitors who had slunk into holes and corners at the first great uprising of the people, have gathered heart from the mercy that has been shown them, and, it must be confessed, from the indulgence accorded to their bolder confederates in arms, and are now pushing themselves forward to the fore-front of the battle. Or, rather, not to the fore-front of the battle, a place of honor they have ever been willing to leave to truer men, but to the rear of the same, where they can stab in the dark and ruin the country under the fair pretence of especial service. These villains have all the malice of the rebels without the courage which gives them a shadow of respectability. They dare not take up arms in their cause ; but they can hatch plots which shall enure to their benefit more than many a stricken field. In this State these miscreants obtained an apparent control at the last election, through the absence of the brave men in the field who would have thwarted their designs, and their success gave Davis and his crew more of heart and comfort than they had derived from Manassas and Fredericksburg. In Illinois and Indiana they have obtained the same apparent ascendancy, and, as far as they dare, they are openly doing their masters' work. In New Jersey there are not wanting rebels disguised as Democrats eager to signalize their loyalty to the South and their devotion to slavery. Everywhere throughout the North all that is pro-slavery and vile is crystallizing into concrete treason and getting ready to strike as soon as their willingness to wound shall not bring immediate danger to themselves. The conspiracy discovered in this city devising the softening of the New Hampshire brain by applications of Mr. George Ticknor Curtis's 4th of July Oration and other hebetizing drugs, must be fresh in the minds of all our readers. And even in Boston, gentlemen of respectable standing, who showed their self-respect by permitting no Democrat to come near them, have been trying to compel the President to put Gen. McClellan again at the head of the army, in the faith that he would soon put it in a condition which should make the continuance of the war impossible and the feeding of their cotton-mills a near probability. It is true that if the worst wishers of Gen. McClellan could have had the direction of affairs they could have invented nothing so damaging to him and so certain to keep him on the shelf where he is laid. The mill-stone has been cast into the sea, and if those gentlemen found pleasure in fastening it round their own necks, they should not wonder at finding themselves anchored at the bottom by it.

All these things show how the latest danger is the greatest that our troublous waters have cast up. As long as the whole North was united, the South could be managed, with more or less time allowed for the work. But when the enemies of the North are those of its own household and are trying to stab it under the fifth rib with the warmest assurances of fraternal affection, we see that the sphere of danger is not only enlarged but it is become more intense. This, then, is now the first duty that demands the attention of every true and loyal man. Victories in the field and on the ocean are indeed essential to our deliverance, but they may be in vain, if their effect is to be counteracted by the machinations of worse enemies in our Legislatures and our Courts of Justice. We may well leave the villanies of Richmond and Charleston for a little while to expose themselves, while we watch and bring to light the more fatal treasons of Trenton, of Springfield and Indianapolis. The capture of Charleston and Richmond will be of no avail unless the Democratic allies of the enemy be not hindered from turning our own victories to the account of the enemy. For these traitors have no objection to victories over the rebels, which shall make them willing to accept the terms they are endeavoring to prepare the country to offer them—simply, terms of recognized supremacy on their part and of unconditional surrender on ours. They do not wish, in the first instance, that the country should be cut in two. They had rather this should come to pass than that slavery should suffer harm. But their heart's desire is that the slaveholders will consent to cease from their warfare, on condition of having everything their own way in the Union. The Union which they love is that of the Democracy with the Slavocracy, whereby the latter may govern the country and the former have the pick of the Northern offices. The eyes of the North should be fixed upon these foes all around them even more sternly than upon those in the enemy's country. They are everywhere, though in greater force in certain parts of the country than in others, and should be watched everywhere with untiring vigilance. If a disgraceful ending is to round this struggle of the nation for its life, it will come from the North and not from the South, and measures should be planned and carried out, and that speedily, to prevent this covert treason from breaking out into open action. The most trying test of the character of the people is to be applied at their own doors, and the fate of the nation will depend upon how they are able to stand it.

We know that it will be said that all this might have been avoided by prompt and vigorous action during the first year of the war. During that time the President was, virtually, Dictator, with absolute power, by the common consent of the people. He might then have crushed the viper-sheets which have been concocting poison all the time and infusing it into the veins of the people to the utmost of their power. The most dangerous men might have been kept in close confinement, if not sent down to their own place in rebeldom, so as to be removed from their spheres of especial mischief. There were arrests enough made, only the greater villains were left at large to make room for the petty ones, whose power of mischief was by no means proportioned to their bad will. And, had not Sewardism in the Cabinet and McClellanism in the field dawdled away the time and dribbled away the army, the rebels might have been defeated and the war brought to a glorious end. All this may be true. We fear that too much of it is but too true. But this is no time to stand looking backwards and considering what might have been, had things been differently managed. They have been managed as they have, and the situation is as we see it, and it is the part not only of wisdom, but of absolute necessity, to look it in the face and prepare for the exigencies it brings and for those it threatens. Bygones should be bygones. President-making should be deferred to a more convenient season. The best should be made of the means we have, and no time or strength spent in striving for what we may never get. The press is not yet in the control of the Copperheads. The ear of the people can be reached by abler as well as truer voices than any they can command. The army is not yet corrupted. The action of the Illinois regiments in offering their help to Gov. Yates to suppress a Copperhead rebellion is a sign of grace. The defeat of Fernando Wood in his Senatorial aspirations, and the compelled abandonment by Gov. Seymour of his factious attack on the Metropolitan Police, are all hopeful signs. The very hideousness of the shape which our domestic treason has taken upon itself, is one of our safeguards from its designs. It needs but to be seen to be hated, and the more recklessly it throws off its disguises and masks the less dangerous it is. But this is the predominant, prevailing danger of this hour. Jefferson Davis and Stonewall Jackson are harmless enemies in comparison with Wood and Seymour. But their character must be exposed, their designs made clear, and the consequences declared of letting them have free course without resistance. With vigilance and activity we believe these traitors can be crushed more effectually now than they were eighteen months ago. Without both these qualities, there is at least danger of their inaugurating a wide-spread mischief. The country would sustain the President in stronger measures than he has ever yet resorted to to keep down these worst enemies of the country. The nation does not mean to be killed in open fight, nor yet to be murdered by assassins from behind. And it is the business of all having weight of actual power, or of indirect influence, to see to it that this crime is not accomplished through their negligence or cowardice.

THE AMERICAN CAUSE IN ENGLAND.

GREAT ANTI-SLAVERY DEMONSTRATION IN LONDON.

LONDON, 31st January, 1863.

MY DEAR SIR : We have held not only one of the greatest anti-slavery meetings ever held in this country, but one of the greatest demonstrations of any kind which it has been the fortune of this generation to witness. Never, since the palmiest days of the Anti-Corn Law League, have Exeter Hall and its neighborhood presented such a scene of noble excitement. Long before the hour of meeting the vast hall was densely crowded—in fact, it would, I believe, have been impossible to find standing room for another human being. Still there was a far larger body of enthusiastic sympathizers who were making hopeless efforts to force open the outer doors. So numerous were they that they filled Exeter street, and seriously impeded the traffic of the Strand. We did the best we could to [illegible] which will accommodate about a thousand persons—we also held a great meeting in the street. There was a plentiful supply of speakers ; for ours is a cause which has gained the support of almost every earnest man who possesses the gift of public speech.

Let me now return to the large hall, for I can only speak of the meeting there from actual observation. From the moment that the chairman of the Emancipation Society (Mr. William Evans), who presided on the occasion, first opened his lips, it was obvious that we had an enthusiastically sympathetic audience. When he asked them whether they had lost their interest in the great cause of Emancipation—whether they had abandoned the faith of their fathers, the Wilberforces and Buxtons of the past, they answered in the negative with a shout which made the old walls fairly shake again. When he alluded to President Lincoln by name, the mighty assembly arose *en masse* and cheered and cheered until their throats were hoarse. I could see the eyes of your excellent Consul, Mr. Morse, light up with pleasure ; and I trust there were many other Americans present who would send home to their countrymen a description of that scene, and assure them that the heart of England beats in warm sympathy with the cause of the free States. *The Times*, some of your journals tell you, is the *popular* organ in this country. Well, *The Times* was hooted as I never heard any man or *thing* hooted before, save Jefferson Davis and the author of the Fugitive Slave law.

Of the speeches I have no time to write—nor is there any need that I should do so, seeing that *The Morning Star* gives a verbatim report of the proceedings, and *The Daily News*, *Morning Advertiser*, and other papers, give very copious reports. You will see how admirably Baptist Noel dealt with that part of the question which was embodied in his resolution—what an intimate knowledge he displayed of the character and designs of the Southern conspirators—with what burning words of indignation and sorrow he branded their cruelty to the negroes since the war began, especially the murders at Murfreesbro, Newbern and Charleston. You will see in what a sledge-hammer style brave Thomas Hughes, the author of that world-famed book, "Tom Brown's School Days," demolished the hypocritical pretense that the Southern rebellion is a war for freedom. You will see with what impassioned eloquence Newman Hall denounced the monsters of the South ; claimed for the female African slave suffering under the lash the same sympathy that we mete out to the Hungarian Countess whose flesh has been torn with the Austrian whip ; and repudiated with scorn the idea of the representative of a man-stealing and woman-whipping confederacy ever kissing the hand of our beloved and matronly Queen. The speeches of Mr. P. A. Taylor, M.P., and Mr. J. M. Ludlow, of Lincoln's Inn, were also excellent. To add to the triumph of the night, telegrams were read from Bradford and Stroud, in both of which important towns great meetings in favor of Negro Emancipation were in progress on the same evening. But it is within a few minutes of post time, and I must close by saying that the Emancipation Society is determined to proceed energetically in the good work which it has so well begun.

Yours, very truly, F. W. CHESSON.

OLIVER JOHNSON, Esq.

Thanks to Mr. Chesson for his timely letter, which, though brief, is an admirable summary of the proceedings of the Exeter Hall meeting ; and thanks, too, for the London newspapers by which it was accompanied. The report of the meeting fills nearly ten wide and closely printed columns in *The Evening Star* of Jan. 30. The speeches of Baptist Noel, Thomas Hughes, Newman Hall, P. A. Taylor, and J. M. Ludlow, are excellent, and we regret that we cannot publish them all. At present we can only print the resolutions adopted by the meeting :

Resolved, That the revolt of the Southern States of America against the Federal government having avowedly originated in the determination not only to maintain but to extend slavery, and having been followed by the organization of a Confederacy based upon the denial of human rights to the negro race, this meeting indignantly repels the assumption that the English people sympathize with a rebellion that thus violates every principle of political justice, or with institutions framed in defiance of the moral sense of civilized mankind, and which are an outrage upon the religion whose sanction has been claimed in their support.

Resolved, That in the election of President LINCOLN, and in the principal acts of his administration—the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia, the prohibition of slavery in the Territories, the recognition of the Republics of Hayti and Liberia, the concession of the right of search for the suppression of the slave-trade, the scheme of compensated emancipation, and the proclamation which inaugurated the new year—this meeting recognizes successive triumphs of anti-slavery sentiment in the United States, rejoices in the prospect thus afforded of friendship between England and America as well as of a liberation to the enslaved, offers to the government and to the people of the loyal States the assurance of fraternal sympathy in their noble struggle, and requests the Chairman to communicate this resolution to his Excellency the American Minister.

We have before us also the proceedings of a Conference of the General Committee of the Emancipation Society, held at the Whittington Club a few hours before the meeting in Exeter Hall. We regret that want of space compels us to defer the report till next week.

THE TWENTY-NINTH

NATIONAL ANTI-SLAVERY SUBSCRIPTION-ANNIVERSARY.

THE TWENTY-NINTH ANNUAL SUBSCRIPTION-ANNIVERSARY has come and gone. The ladies met with some disappointment in their intended arrangements. The Hutchinsons were expected to sing, but at a late day announced that it was out of their power. Wendell Phillips, who was engaged to speak, was unexpectedly detained at Washington ; and Mr. Conway arrived at the last moment, exhausted by the fatigue of travelling night and day.

The weather, as last year, proved very unpropitious, a storm prevailing. Still, the meeting was numerously attended, and was marked by the same straightforwardness and steadfastness of purpose which have distinguished the Abolitionists from the beginning. The sight of Theodore D. Weld's gray head powerfully reminded us how long our little moral army have been in the service. The last time we saw him was twenty-nine years ago. He was then a young man, fresh from Lane Seminary, which he had quitted because the free discussion of slavery was not allowed. Other young men, considered the flower of the institution, went with him. Dr. Beecher, who was then President of the college, said to them, "Your *principles* are right, and I shall be with you *at the end*." But those earnest-hearted students, among whom were some sons of slaveholders, thought there never could be an *end* unless there was a *beginning* ; so they threw themselves manfully into the contest, and left their President to follow at his leisure. From that time to this, there has been an incessant struggle between Despotism and Freedom. The contest has, from time to time, assumed new and altogether unforeseen phases, but it has known no intermission. Many have died, some have deserted, and some stopped fatigued by the way-side ; but the vacant places were speedily filled with new recruits, and still the work went on. The enemies of our righteous cause have always represented us as few in numbers, inferior in intellectual ability, and destitute of social influence ; and yet, with singular self-contradiction, they accuse us of having caused the present convulsion. In saying this they unconsciously admit the moral might of our *principles*. *They* have had the political power, the national treasury, the army and the navy, the pulpit and the press, in their service. *We* have fought our good fight by the exertion of our own minds, and the consecration of our own hearts, at the expense of our own pockets. Yet here we are, still pronounced insignificant in numbers, and contemptible in ability, with the fortress of slavery stormed and half-taken ! If *we* did it, as they *say* we did, does it not prove a Power behind us, stronger than we? This powerful Devil, which is going out of our possessed nation, with such an awful tearing and rending, is he not compelled by a divine voice, that cannot be resisted ? If we despised ones *have* done what our enemies ascribe to us, it is not by our own strength, but by the moral majesty of truth, which is "mighty in the casting down of strongholds." Let us still blow the trumpets of the Lord around the walls of this fortress, till the echoes shake it to the ground !

The subscriptions this year exceeded our expectations. Our conviction was renewed, that never was there a class of people more earnest, devoted, and self-sacrificing than the Abolitionists. Their generosity at this time seemed to me truly wonderful, in view of the heavy pressure upon all classes, and the unprecedented demands upon benevolence. All of us give and do, more or less, in other directions. Some [illegible] to hospitals and freed slaves *all* they have to bestow, believing that politicians and the army will finish the work of emancipation, whether they mean it or not. But a majority of Abolitionists, while they share this belief, also feel that purely *moral* influences ought still to be supported. For ourselves, we think there never has been a time when that class of influences was more needed. Certainly, the progress made toward universal freedom, during the past year, has been most cheering. But we ought to remember that the country has been *pushed* on, as it were, step by step, by the stern and uncontrollable pressure of *events*. Public opinion has moved in the right direction by sheer *compulsion*. The recognition of our colored brothers as *men* has been mainly a necessity of war, and therefore does not fairly represent the general sentiment of the nation. The pro-slavery element is very strong, and it is exceedingly insidious and unscrupulous in the means it employs. It has at this moment cunningly-woven webs spread in every nook and corner of the land, and multitudes of flies are getting their feet entangled in them.

The haughty aristocracy among us do, in their hearts, side with slavery, by natural affinity ; and so do the brutal rabble, which form the unprincipled portion of the Democratic party ; for the two arms of this despotic institution are pride and violence. One scarcely needs to be very observing, to see in every direction obvious indications that powerful and extensive efforts are being made to combine these two bad forces against the steady advance of Freedom. There is no use in trying to conceal from ourselves that we have a party in our midst who are not only determined that slavery *shall* be maintained, at all hazards, but who are also more than willing to see our form of government changed. Declarations to this effect are frequently heard : "I am disgusted with republics. I want to see a stronger form of government." In every instance this remark was preceded by much abuse of the United States government, and warm eulogiums upon Gen. McClellan. Of course the rebels are watching for such signs of the times, and are emboldened by every indication of fresh recruits for their Golden Circle of conquest. What their hopes and plans are is betrayed by the insolent tone of their papers. The Richmond organ of the Confederates threatens in this style : "The Yankees are by nature menials, and fitted only for menial duties. They are now in open and flagrant insurrection against their *lords and masters*. When they are *again reduced to subjection*, and taught to know their place, we must take care to put *such trammels* about them that they will never have an opportunity to play these tricks again." Capt. Drew publishes that, while he was prisoner in Virginia, the Rev. Edmund Ruffin, a venerable clergyman of that State, said to him and Col. Corcoran : "We have many among you who are our friends. Some favor us from interested motives, some from natural affinities. We expect them to harass your government, to sow dissension among the people, to deaden enthusiasm, to weaken faith in the government, to bring about a desire for peace, to prevent you from drafting, and finally do more to defeat you than Southern bravery and skill in arms. We know these fellows. We know they are miserable curs. We despise them ; but they aid us greatly."

Look around you ! Do you not already see how the holy and blessed name of peace is being used for the basest purposes? The working men of the North must keep a vigilant look out, or they will wake up some morning and find that the free institutions of their fathers have vanished, and that they are brought into subjection to "lords and masters." Thus have we endangered our own freedom by consenting to aid in depriving others of theirs. The present seems to us the darkest crisis through which we have yet passed. But we are not disheartened, because we still have faith in the virtue and intelligence of the people. Every friend of Freedom who snatches a little repose now should sleep upon his arms, and with a certainty that wide-awake sentinels are kept constantly on the watch. We trust our Free Institutions are sacred enough to be defended by an ever-ready Life Guard ; therefore, though we cannot feel specially jubilant, we are hopeful. The hand of Divine Providence has been so signally manifested in compelling us forward thus far in the direction of Light and Freedom, that we cannot believe the Powers of Darkness will be permitted to drag us backward into Despotism.

"Lord, we have wandered forth through doubt and sorrow ;
And Thou hast made each step an *onward* one ;
And we will ever trust each unknown morrow ;
Thou wilt sustain us till our work is done.

"Now, Father, now, in thy dear presence kneeling,
Our spirits yearn to feel thy kindling love,
Oh, make us strong! We need Thy deep revealing
Of trust, and strength, and calmness from above."

We see abundance of good omens. They are apparently more numerous than the evil ones. Among them is the rapid increase of conversions to our cause. The following letter from the Rev. Dr. Thomas Worcester, pastor of the New Jerusalem Church in Boston, is a case in point. He has been generally understood to be much prejudiced against the anti-slavery movement. He now avows that his opinion of slavery has changed, but still he does not quite like the Abolitionists. Probably he never will. The sledge-hammer does not belong to his set of tools, and the sound blow is not agreeable to a man of his organization. Nevertheless, where heavy hammering *must* be done, it is to be recognized as a valuable instrument, even though we cannot wield it ourselves.

Very likely, also, that Dr. Worcester, like many others, misapprehends the character and motives of most of the Abolitionists. We are all familiar with the story of a slaveholder on board a Philadelphia boat, who, after a long talk with Mr. Garrison on slavery, parted from him with these words : "I *like* to talk upon this subject with a man of *your* sense and candor ; but as for that violent Garrison, *he* ought to be hung." His companion bowed and replied, "I am William Lloyd Garrison."

Others of us have also been misjudged. But these misapprehensions do not matter much. Conscious that it is not our own work we are striving to do, we are ready to echo Lamartine's noble sentiment : "Let our *names* perish, so that our *principles* remain." Dr. Worcester shows himself ready to exert his influence in behalf of the slave, whatever he may think of those who are laboring in different ways for the same object. His letter is written in a spirit of kindness, simplicity and frankness, and we thank him for it, in the name of the oppressed :

"DEAR MRS. CHILD : I thank you for the kind request, signed by yourself and other ladies, in behalf of anti-slavery families, that I should attend their meeting at the Music Hall. The state of my health will not allow me to accept the invitation. But I have a word to say ; for I have been delivered from the bondage of believing slavery to be a good thing ; and I wish to express my gratitude to the person to whom it is due. Until two years and a half ago, I thought it was good for the negroes to be kept in slavery, and that it was therefore permitted by Divine Providence. During that time, I, of course, had my opinion about you anti-slavery people. I supposed some of you to be very kind and benevolent, but not very wise ; and others to be very harsh and censorious, and so rather wanting in kindness.

At the time before-mentioned, a good friend, by gentle force and kind pertinacity, compelled me to read a little pamphlet called 'THE RIGHT WAY THE SAFE WAY." I was immediately struck dumb on the whole subject. I did not believe, but I could not deny ; so I waited for more knowledge. I read everything I could obtain on the subject ; and in about six months I became convinced that the negroes in the West Indies were in a much better condition after emancipation than before. Having arrived at this conclusion, it did not take me long to reach another, viz : that there is not a shadow of foundation in right, in justice, or even in expediency, for slavery to stand upon, and that, by one means or another, it *ought* to be brought to an end, and *will* be brought to an end.

Since I have changed my opinion of slavery, I have regarded it as my duty at least to revise my opinion of those who have long been distinguished by their opposition to it. In this work I have not made so much progress. I can, however, sincerely unite with you in wishing to see slavery abolished throughout the land.

Very truly yours, THOMAS WORCESTER.

From another minister of the gospel, a "brother beloved" by every anti-slavery heart—himself not less qualified, by gentleness and kindness of spirit, than our just-cited correspondent, to judge of the manner of spirit we should be of, in maintaining with proper zeal and fidelity the great cause of God's oppressed poor against their hard-hearted oppressors—we give the following letter :

SYRACUSE, Jan. 19, 1863.

MY DEAR FRIEND : Repeatedly, within the last six months, I have tried to arrange my affairs, and gather up the means, so as to make my Massachusetts friends a visit ; but I have been obliged to forego the intention. And now, though the Annual Meeting of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society, and the National Anti-Slavery Subscription-[illegible]-anniversary, [illegible] the strongest attractions to me, I must, I find, again deny myself. I cannot afford the expense of the journey, and then give any money to "the cause." So I have determined to stay at home, and send twenty dollars to the excellent women who are again endeavoring to sustain the operations of the Anti-Slavery Society. These operations ought not to be discontinued ; for even if slavery is to be, as I trust in God it is to be, abolished by this war, much will need be done to help the newly freedmen to use aright and improve the privileges of liberty, and to lead their late oppressors to adjust themselves to the great change.

We are indeed living at the crisis of our nation's fate—yes, in the grandest epoch of the world's history. Here and now we are having the real conflict for the rights of man, and the sovereignty of God on earth. There can be no doubt of the issue—but it may be much further off than we have hoped ; and the triumph of liberty is not going to be so easily won.

The Democratic party at the North is gathering up its forces for a political enterprise that shall give to it again supremacy in the Federal government. This can only be attained by conceding the chief places to the lords of the South ; and for this the Northern Democrats are ready, as they have been trained to believe that "there must be in every country a governing class, and that in our country, the best of that class are reared at the South, where the prominent men have been educated from childhood in the spirit and habits of command." I have marked the above as a quotation, because I have heard the sentiment from the lips of more than one Democrat. There can be no doubt that these Democrats are willing and ready to restore the old order of things—slavery the most sacred institution in our country—the Presidency in the hands of Southern men, or of Northern men with slaveholding principles. Unless our Union armies gain a decisive victory in Virginia and another at Vicksburg, before the month of May, if not before the 4th of March, the Democratic party will avow this to be their determination ; and then nothing can save us from utter subjugation to the Southern aristocracy but the madness of the leading rebels, which may drive them to demand more than even the Democrats can concede ; and then they will shift their policy and go for war, and take to themselves the glory of the final victory, which by their secret even more than open opposition they will have prevented the present Administration from achieving. If the result of the present war should be as disgraceful and disastrous as the Democrats would have it, it could not stay so. The three million of newly freedmen will not quietly consent to be slaves again, and too many of the people of the free States have been brought to see that slavery is the source of all our national woe, to settle down again quietly with that "peculiar institution" overshadowing and frowning upon them. There can be no lasting peace in the land until this root of bitterness is thoroughly extirpated from it. This must be done. The people of our country—Christians though they have called themselves—have refused to do this "work of the Lord" by moral, ecclesiastical, religious instrumentalities, and so they are left to do it by the coarse, cruel, savage implements of horrid war. They have refused to do it as Jefferson and other sages and seers of the Revolution entreated them to do it, "by the generous energies of their own minds," and so they are left to do it "by the awful processes of civil, and it may be servile war." For it must be done. You and I, and our fellow-laborers in the anti-slavery cause, can wash our hands of all responsibility for this civil war, and the servile, if it should deluge the South in blood. For have we not, for more than thirty years, been laboring with all our might to remove the source of this terrible calamity by peaceful, Christian means ?

Our works and our words are before God and the world, and the future historian will judge between us and our accusers. We have no fear of the decision. For myself, I desire no higher commendation now or hereafter than that among the earliest adherents of William Lloyd Garrison was Yours, as ever, lovingly, SAMUEL J. MAY.

Here is a brief letter from yet another clergyman :

VERY DEAR MADAM : I have just received an invitation to be present at the Twenty-ninth Subscription-Anniversary of the friends of freedom. In returning my sincere thanks, permit me to express my hearty regrets that previous engagements will render an acceptance on my part impossible. Few incidents in life could arise making necessary self-denial more really "cross-bearing."

I beg to assure you of my most hearty desire for your success on your pleasant anniversary gathering.

All efforts to effect the freedom and elevation of the human race have the prayers and warmest sympathy of

Your friend and fellow-laborer, J. SCOTT.

P. S.—Enclosed, I send you a contribution as a token, not as the measure of good wishes.

Mrs. L. M. CHILD.

The next is from an humble source, as the world judges these matters, but in the eye of the great and impartial tribunal, whose gift shall be accounted worthier or greater than that of this poor widow ?

TARRYTOWN, N. Y., Jan. 27, 1863.

Enclosed, you will find one dollar, saved from the earnings of a widow more than sixty years of age, who is dependent upon her daily labor for support. She has been an appreciative reader of THE STANDARD for many years, and desires to add her mite to its circulation. If its friends could but insure its perusal without prejudice, it would not fail to produce the most beneficial results. This community is so ultra Democratic that it will not look at an anti-slavery paper.

Wishing you every success in the great cause of human liberty, I subscribe myself a friend to the cause till death,

R. W. L.

The following letter from MRS. ELIZABETH CADY STANTON is equally characteristic and suggestive, on the part of one who has so long and ably advocated the cause of humanity in its widest scope :

BROOKLYN, N. Y., Jan. 26, 1863.

DEAR FRIEND : Enclosed, find $5, and my steadfast faith in the anti-slavery Christians of Boston. Verily, the only church on earth is found in the sanctuary of a few true souls. In our national struggles, the divine patience of the negro has been rivalled only by the unwavering zeal of New England Abolitionists. And now the Lilliputs of our day would blot out all there is left of the sublime in this nation ! They would expatriate the negroes, and "leave New England out in the cold"! But it would be a cold without a chill, to which the lovers of a high civilization from all parts would hasten—an isolation of peace, and joy and comfort, where the fires of liberty, ever burning bright, would not only warm those who gather round your altars, but cheer with their holy light the rising masses, from pole to pole.

We constantly hear people saying, "We are disappointed in the Abolitionists and the negroes. One would think, in a time like this they of all classes, would be most active." They seem to lose sight of the fact, that the Abolitionists have been fighting this battle for thirty years, buoyed up by no love of fame or glory, with no martial music or poets, or orators, to sound their praise. They enlisted when the war was so unpopular that every volunteer was obliged to feed and clothe himself, and quarter on his friends ; when, for strong, stout blows and victories, he won shame, and ridicule, and martyrdom, and death ; when, instead of gay cockades and epaulettes, distinction brought him tar and feathers, and rotten eggs. Denounced alike by Church and State, he calmly stood alone, and fought for freedom—invulnerable to ridicule, ambition, bribery and hate, with the charmed life God gives to those who to themselves are true.

list, and you have kindly assisted me on former occasions, for which I am, in great truth,

Your sincere and faithful friend, SAM'L GALE.

MISS. L. MARIA CHILD.

But we must refrain from further extracts from our correspondence, or else we shall extend our report to too great a length. The earlier part of the evening was well occupied by the remarks of MONCURE D. CONWAY and WILLIAM WELLS BROWN, and with the impressive readings of Mrs. DE MORTIE, the glowing tinge of whose complexion certainly did not impair the effect of her well-selected and well-pronounced pieces. In the intervals, music from the orchestra came in to refresh and inspire; and the remainder of the evening was devoted to promenading, conversation and music. We acknowledge with our best thanks the aid rendered to us by EDMUND QUINCY, Esq., who so cheerfully consented to preside on the occasion, and who discharged the duties of the office with his usual ability and success.

The arrangements of the stage attracted attention, and though no attempt at display was made, proved of much interest to the assembly. Upon a long white screen were placed portraits and busts of eminent friends, living and departed, of the anti-slavery cause; in the centre being an admirable life-size and most life-like portrait of John Brown, Hero and Martyr of Liberty. Besides the busts and portraits were other memorials of the long anti-slavery contest, and around the hall were arranged the banners, with their appropriate devices and mottoes, which for thirty years have illustrated our principles and our gatherings. In the rear of the stage was raised the large banner containing the State coat-of-arms of Virginia, that State lately so proud, claiming to be mistress of the land, and bitterly wreaking her vengeance upon John Brown and his handful of friends; but now, sunk so low, devastated by the war she herself courted and helped to inaugurate, and stripped of the unjust power she wielded so long.

It was thought desirable to obtain, if possible, a photographic picture of the stage and southern end of the Music Hall—as a memorial of the occasion—and a very successful representation has been obtained by a well-known and skillful artist.

In conclusion we are happy to be able to say that the total amount of the subscriptions, received to this time, is over THREE THOUSAND SIX HUNDRED DOLLARS. The amount received from home contributions is *larger* than upon any previous occasion, a circumstance extremely cheering to us, and hopeful for the future. The European subscriptions are much less than heretofore, for many reasons; and first, because no direct appeal or request was made by us to friends abroad for aid, and because the general notice was issued here at so late a day (not until December), that but little time for response to it was left on the part of friends in Europe. But, still more, the misapprehensions concerning our war and the relation of Abolitionists to it, which have extensively prevailed abroad (which now, we rejoice to see, are giving way before clearer light and the higher position of our own government), and the wide-spread distress in the manufacturing districts of Great Britain and Ireland, forbade us to ask or to anticipate the usual donations.

With sincere thanks to ALL, whose united interest and effort made our twenty-ninth anniversary so pleasant, so full of promise, and so helpful to the cause, we close our Report. L. MARIA CHILD,

In behalf of the Committee of Anti-Slavery Women.

SUBSCRIPTION LIST

Of the Twenty-ninth National Anti-Slavery Subscription-Anniversary.

Mrs. Mary May,	$100 00
Miss Anne Warren Weston,	20 00
Mrs. Louisa Loring,	25 00
Miss Henrietta Sargent,	10 00
Mrs. Helen Eliza Garrison,	10 00
Mrs. Anna Shaw Greene,	200 00
Mrs. Lydia D. Parker,	20 00
Mrs. Evelina A. Smith,	2 00
Mrs. Anna R. Bramhall,	12 00
Mrs. Sarah C. Atkinson,	10 00
Miss Mary Willey,	1 00
Mrs. Sarah J. Nowell,	10 00
Mrs. Mary Jackson,	5 00
Miss Sarah H. Cowing,	2 00
Miss Mary Jane Parkman,	10 00
Miss Georgiana Otis,	5 00
Mrs. Caroline E. Putnam,	20 00
Miss Caroline C. Thayer,	2 00
Mrs. Katherine E. Farnum,	3 00
David Lee Child, and L. Maria Child,	20 00
Samuel May, Jr., and Sarah R. May,	30 00
Mr. and Mrs. T. F. Von Arnim,	10 00
Mr. and Mrs. Samuel E. Sewall,	20 00
Mrs. Lucinda Smith Otis,	20 00
Mrs. Ann T. G. Phillips,	100 00
Wendell Phillips,	100 00
Hon. Samuel Gale, Montreal, Canada,	400 00
Hon. Gerrit Smith,	10 00
Dr. Convers Francis, Cambridge,	8 00
Mrs. L. Emerson, Concord,	5 00
Mrs. James M. Robbins,	10 00
Hon. John G. Palfrey,	5 00
Mr. and Mrs. William I. Bowditch,	50 00
Samuel May, Esq.,	100 00
Nathaniel Barney, Nantucket,	20 00
Alvah A. Burrage, Esq., Boston,	20 00
J. Z. Goodrich, Esq., "	2 00
Tyler Bigelow, Esq., Watertown,	5 00
John S. Dwight, Esq., Boston,	3 00
George Atkinson, Esq., "	5 00
F. A. Greene, "	5 00
John Curtis, "	5 00
Hannah Castell, "	5 00
S. Urbino, "	3 00
John L. Whiting, "	3 00
Mrs. Mary M. Brooks, Concord,	10 00
Mrs. Lucretia A. Reed, Roxbury,	10 00
Wm. L. Foster, Esq., Milton,	10 00
Alvan and Nancy L. Howes, Barnstable,	10 00
Misses Bradford, Duxbury,	10 00
Richard and Mary Plumer, Newburyport,	5 00
Edward Earle, Worcester,	5 00
Mrs. J. C. Nichols,	5 00
Miss H. A. Wilson,	2 00
Isaac Osgood, Esq.,	2 00
Mary Osgood,	1 00
Mehitable Haskell, Gloucester,	2 00
Mrs. Lydia, S. Walker, Leominster,	4 00
Joel Smith, "	2 00
Mrs. Sarah Wilder, "	50
Elizabeth Wilder, "	50
Jona. and F. H. Drake, "	1 00
James H. Carter, "	50
G. W. Walbridge, E. Douglass,	5 00
Briggs Arnold, E. Abington,	2 00
Zebina H. Small, Harwich,	5 00
Mrs. Charlotte Childs, Barnstable,	3 00
Mr. and Mrs. Sylvanus Smith, Boston,	2 00
Mr. and Mrs. L. McLauthlin, Pembroke,	2 00
Mr. and Mrs. Chas. C. McLauthlin,	5 00
Edward B. Perkins, Salem,	5 00
Laban Pratt, Dorchester,	5 00
Robert Johnson,	10 00
Charles K. and E. C. Whipple, Boston,	10 00
Cornelius Wellington, Esq., "	20 00
Miss Hannah Robie, "	10 00
Thomas Sewall, Esq., "	10 00
Miss Mary Sewall, "	6 00
Mrs. Eliza A. Morrill, Concord, N. H.,	5 00
Mrs. Lydia J. Jarvis, Boston,	10 00
Mrs. Pitman, "	10 00
Reuben H. Ober, "	1 00
Miss Bradford, "	3 00
Mrs. Susan E. B. Channing, "	5 00
Miss. E. H. Day, Lewiston, Me.,	5 00
A. H. Howard, "	10 00
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Mrs. E. Putnam,	5 00
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Lydia Brown,	1 00
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Mrs. George S. Winslow, Boston,	5 00
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Nelson Parsons, " "	25
Sallie Holley, Farmersville, "	1 50
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William Ashby, Newburyport,	3 00
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Mrs. Julia M. Friend, Gloucester,	1 00
Henry C. Wright,	1 00
Miss E. D. Knight,	1 50
C. Henry Adams,	1 00
John T. Hilton,	50
D. Dyer	2 00
J. H. Rogers,	1 00
Abby Hutchinson, Braintree, Vermont,	2 00
Jesse Steadman, Springfield, "	2 00
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Mrs. J. N. Hall, West Killingly, Conn.,	5 00
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Martha Smith, Plainfield, "	10 00
Lauren Wetmore, Wolcottville, "	5 00
Dr. and Mrs. Whitcomb, Brooklyn, "	5 00
Olive Gilbert, " "	2 00
J. B. Stetson, " "	2 40
Mrs. Kate Conant, " "	2 70
Philip Scarborough, " "	3 00
Perrin Scarborough, " "	3 00
Edwin Scarborough, " "	3 60
Mr. and Mrs. N. White, Concord, N. H.,	25 00
Perley King, South Danvers,	25 00
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Mr. and Mrs. Elias Richards, Weymouth,	10 00
Elisha Clapp, Gill,	5 00
G. Miles, Westminster,	3 00
Mrs. E. S. Preston, New Ipswich, N. H.,	5 00
Luther Melendy, Amherst, "	5 00
Mary P. Payson, Peterboro', "	10 00
Climena Philbrick, Seabrook, "	2 00
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Amon Parmenter, Esq., Newport, R. I.,	5 00
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Albert Peck, Providence, "	1 00
Rev. John L. Russell, Salem,	2 00
Friends in Salem, by Mrs. C. E. P.,	20 00
I. D. S.,	1 00
Mrs. Logan,	50
Virginia,	50
Mrs. Earle,	1 00
Mrs. Beal, East Boston,	1 00
Charles M. Walton, Philadelphia,	5 00
M. C. Hallowell,	1 00
Emmett Densmore, Plumer, Pa.,	10 00
George S. Stearns, Cincinnati,	1 00
Cash collection,	17 00
"Friends," in various sums,	20 10

Miss Nichols, 25 cts.; E. M. Lawton, 25 cts.; Julia Landvick, 25; A. B. 25; Mary Walker, 25; Frederic Gilmore, 50; W. G. Brown, 50; Mary A. Hall, 25; A. B. Smith, 50; Mrs. Hill, 20; Mrs. H. N. Tyler, 50; J. M. Eveleth, 50.

EUROPEAN SUBSCRIPTIONS.

Friends in EDINBURG, Scotland, by Mrs. Jane Wigham,	£21	0	0
ULVERSTON, by Ann Fletcher Jackson,	5	0	0
Mrs. Maria W. Palmer, Waterford, Ireland,	20	0	0
Richard D. Webb, Dublin, Ireland,	5	0	0
WARRINGTON (England) Anti-Slavery Society, by Wm. Robson, Esq.,	12	10	0
Miss Walton, Manchester,	1	0	0
BRISTOL, by Mrs. Stephens,	2	3	6
Mrs. Anne Allen, Dublin,	5	0	0

Our Washington Correspondence.

WASHINGTON, Feb. 16, 1863.

A STORM is brewing in the upper air against Mr. Seward. There are a good many evidences of it, but it is quite doubtful in my mind whether Mr. Seward will not turn upon his enemies and slay them. In other words, it is quite probable that Sewardism rather than anti-Sewardism will be triumphant in the end. The President, of course, is the man who will decide any quarrel of this kind, and it remains to be seen who will have the most influence over him. We know that it was not Mr. Seward's peculiar friends who triumphed in the matter of the Emancipation proclamation.

The resolution offered in the Senate, a few days ago, by Senator Grimes, inquiring into Seward's connection with the Mercier visit to Richmond, is an indication of the feeling among many Congressmen towards the Secretary of State. They distrust him—whether rightfully or not I will not attempt to decide. There is a current rumor here now that Mr. Seward contemplates a grand *coup d' etat* as soon as Congress shall have got out of the way—that "about those days" the Supreme Court will decide the Emancipation proclamation unconstitutional, when the President will back out from it "like a good citizen," to quote the words of a Copperhead here, and the Cabinet will be remodelled with two or three pro-slavery Democrats in it. The rumor seems to me to be preposterous, but I find that some of our friends here are giving heed to it and discussing the probabilities of such an event. It is admitted on all hands, that the course of the Democrats in some of the Western States is embarrassing to the government. There are two ways to cure this difficulty: one is to face the danger in a manful fashion, and attempt to crush treason at the North as well as at the South. Another way is to try to coax the Peace Democrats to join in with us and carry the war on. Now, the coaxing business, if begun, can have but one result—the Democratic pro-slavery policy will triumph. I cannot believe that even Mr. Seward will trust himself to such means and men, and certainly Mr. Lincoln is not the man to belie all his principles in such a manner. I hear so much upon the subject, however, that I am convinced that there may be something in it, and that the friends of freedom should be on the alert. Mr. Lincoln does not like the idea of a change in his Cabinet. He has avowed this fact repeatedly within a few weeks, and it will require an extraordinary state of things to lead him to the conclusion that his Cabinet must be changed. He prefers rather to balance the wings of his party with Mr. Chase and Mr. Seward.

Mr. Seward's reply to the resolution of the Senate excites considerable comment. He seems to deny some things alleged against him in the Yellow Book, but in reality he does not. The moment the dispatch of Count Mercier to M. Thouvenel was read by his (Mr. Seward's) friends here, they knew at once that it was true, for it sounded just like him. And to be fair, there was nothing so much out of the way in this pleasant talk with the Count. Mr. Seward may well reply, "I simply meant that I was anxious for the rebels to lay down their arms and return to their allegiance." It is only *the spirit* of the words quoted against Mr. Seward which has made an impression upon the country, for the people seem to have got the idea that Mr. Seward is much more ready for *a compromise* with the rebels than most of the Republicans are—and they are undoubtedly right.

Gen. Burnside, I hear, told the President, when he was here a week or two ago, that the necessity of speedy victories was very great, much greater than any one in Washington seemed to understand. There is truth in the statement, whether Burnside made it or not, and those who would criticize the Administration severely should remember the great difficulties of the situation. Let the past remain, for it cannot be recalled now. Admit that the Administration has committed immense blunders in the past—what shall it do *now?* The government seems disposed to avail itself of all the colored men who will fight in this war, and it will stand by the proclamation—for the present certainly, and forever if it *can* do so—if it have the physical power I mean. Now, then, the great army is melting rapidly away—more troops will soon be wanted. Yet the feeling of the country is such that it is dangerous to talk of conscription. Yet the Congress is proceeding to the enactment of a stringent conscription act. Will the President dare execute it? Many of the very Democrats who threaten so much mischief say, "Give up your proclamation, and we will endeavor to make the people satisfied with a further draft—we will give you more troops." Mr. Greeley says, "Win some great victories within three months, and all is well—the country is saved!" And Mr. Greeley is right—perfectly right in this, but Gen. Halleck will take his own slow way to success—or rather failure. Win two or three victories—take Charleston and open the Mississippi, and the Copperheads will shrink away in utter disgrace. This I have strong hopes will yet be done, and in ample season to blast the budding schemes of Northern traitors.

During the past week a good many leading Republicans from the Northern and Western States have been here to consult with the government upon the recent developments in the free States. The States of Indiana and Illinois are in the worst condition possible this side of revolution, but even they will yet be rescued from "Democratic" degradation.

Some one called Mr. Bingham out the other day upon the question of admitting a traitor into Congress, and he said:

"But if the gentleman means by his interrogatory, whether I would consent that a traitor should be admitted as a Representative on this floor—a traitor to the Constitution of my country—I answer him a thousand times, 'No.' Not because the people have not the right of representation, but because the man who has forsworn himself; the man who has covered himself with perjury as with a garment; the man who has lifted up his hands against your government and mine, against the protecting shield of your children and mine, has no right to hold a seat on this floor or a place on God's footstool."

It was not a bad answer. And this reminds me that Mr. Bingham, after serving many honorable years in Congress, goes out with the present expiring Congress. It is a shame that the country is going to lose the public services of so great and so honest a man. He is one of the boldest, bravest and ablest men in Congress, and he cannot be spared. He has grown gray in the service, and is one of the few men who will shine hereafter like stars for his truth and devotion to a hated cause. Though a radical, yet the pro-slavery men fear and respect him. They cannot help it, and I think that more than one Democrat who is reelected to the next Congress regrets that the honest Bingham will be missed from his accustomed seat.

The French correspondence attracts attention in all circles. Mr. Seward's friends say that he comes off finely, that he has given the French government a reply that will long be remembered. It seems to me that his optimism spoils his dispatches. How ridiculous it is to claim that half of North Carolina and two-thirds of Louisiana are in our possession! If this is not falsehood—what is it? Mr. Seward's enemies—and he has many here in Congress as you are aware—do not think that the correspondence reflects much honor upon the Secretary of State. One fact is developed by this correspondence—that Louis Napoleon is uneasy and wants to interfere in our affairs. No doubt he would if he dared. But the battle is still within our own grasp if we will but put forward all our strength. But it should be now within the next three months, and it can be. AVON.

Philadelphia Correspondence.

PHILADELPHIA, Feb. 16th, 1863.

It is right, doubtless, that our leaders should keep us in mind of the dangers that beset us. Unsleeping vigilance is the price of liberty. When the national ship is passing through the breakers, every man of the crew should be at his post. An ease-loving optimism is a dangerous philosophy. Faith without works is dead. A belief that "things will come out all right," without corresponding efforts so to bring them out, is a belief which no one is warranted in cherishing. It is well, therefore, that our speakers from the rostrum and our editors from their sanctums should admonish us of the perils which environ us, and exhort us, in the "agony of the hour," to quit ourselves like men.

For, though an Abolitionist is, by the simple fact of his being an Abolitionist, a worker with his implements about him and his weapons on his person, he is nevertheless a man, and as such inclined to take his ease when he can do it with safety, and to seek repose in peaceful shades when duty does not forbid. As the saints of old were exhorted to "exhort one another," and to stir up each other's "pure minds by way of remembrance," so the chosen ones now must be subject to similar entreaty. As one of the apostles of the faith it must be admitted, Mr. Editor, that you perform your part well. You are "a workman that need not be ashamed, rightly dividing," as you do, "the word of truth." Sometimes you beseech us—as in the number before the last—by the mercies we enjoy; and at others—as in your last—you warn us by the judgments to come. Different people are differently constituted. I belong to the class that is most influenced by appeals of the former kind. With this class hope is a better incentive than despair; undoubting faith than distressing uncertainty. I, therefore, when I come to preach my little preach, naturally use the arguments which I find most potential with myself. If in so doing I happen to comfort others "by the comfort wherewith I myself am comforted," I trust I shall not be set down as one delighting to "prophesy smooth things," or desiring to "heal the hurt of the people slightly."

Having thus apologized for coming to you, as usual, with a letter containing no "heavy tidings," I proceed to say, as my belief, that as in general, "all things work together for good to them that love the Lord," so at this particular juncture all things are working together for good to them that love Freedom. As a matter of faith, and as a matter of right, Abolitionists have at this time the amplest grounds for rejoicing. However matters may have gone with other parties, having other interests to subserve, with Abolitionists everything has prospered. All happenings have eventuated to their advantage. They and their cause stand justified before the world, and their clients have a verdict in their favor. Abolitionism is the policy of the country, and the black man is a citizen and a soldier.

Events that have seemed untoward have proved the most propitious. Men that have meant us no good have turned out our benefactors. Gen. McClellan, next to Jeff. Davis, has indirectly been the greatest God-send our cause has had. To his inaction we are immeasurably indebted. If he had been the soldier his friends claimed him to be, and had pushed the enemy to the wall, as he might have done, when he boasted that he would do so, a peace could have been patched up that would have postponed emancipation to an indefinite period. But Gen. McClellan was tender to his old friends. He would spare them and preserve their system. So he dilly-dallied and shilly-shallied, till the misfortunes of the nation made emancipation a "necessity."

The supercession of Butler by Gen. Banks was a blunder; one of the many that have distinguished the Administration and mortified its friends. But blunder as it was, it has had its compensations. It has brought us acquainted with Gen. Butler in his new character. It has given us his farewell speech at New Orleans; his ovation speeches at Philadelphia, New York, Boston and Lowell. It has given us, at an opportune moment, a Hunker of the Hunkers transformed into an Abolitionist of the Abolitionists. The once persecuting Butler, while at New Orleans, "saw a great light," and returned to the North to preach the faith he once destroyed.

The blunder did another service, scarcely inferior, in bringing us better acquainted with Gen. Banks. The country had been gradually surrendering itself to the belief that Gen. Banks possessed great executive energy and administrative ability, and that he was probably the coming man. His miserable *fiasco* at New Orleans led to inquiry which has enlightened the country. The estimate now formed of Gen. Banks, by those best qualified to judge, is, that he is a smart politician, clever at all the tricks which enable a man to simulate greatness, powerful in presiding over a meeting, and great in making buncombe speeches; but otherwise nothing but "leather and prunella."

The blunder which substitued Banks for Butler had its origin in a good purpose, and, in the end, will be productive of no mischief. "Had I known," said Mr. Stanton, "what I know now, I would have cut off my right hand before I would have removed Gen. Butler." The order superceding him was issued last October. At that time Banks stood high, no man at Washington from his own State or elsewhere saying anything to his disadvantage. Gen. Butler had quarreled with Gen. Phelps because the latter proposed to arm the negroes. The 1st of January was approaching, and it was important that the expected proclamation should have a sure friend in the Commanding General at New Orleans. Therefore, Butler, the then doubtful, was recalled, and Banks, the then trusted, sent in his place. The motive was good, and, acting according to his light, Mr. Stanton's procedure was a wise one. What we do for the best is best. No evil will, therefore, come from the Secretary's mistake that will not be more than balanced by the good. Thus, at least, I reason, as this is my philosophy.

If we will go carefully over the history of the last two years (or the last thirty if you choose), looking at its salient points from a philosophic height—that is, from an elevation which will enable us to see things in their relations—we shall find that many an inauspicious event has proved in its final results a most beneficent occurrence. "All things work together for good." "There is a Divinity that shapes our ends." "Man proposes, God disposes." Thus apostle, poet and philosopher all agree in teaching the same lesson; and this is my optimism.

You are distressed with the delays at Washington, and with good reason; and you do well to raise your voice in reproof thereof. Still we make progress—cheering progress. In a war of ideas, such as is ours, the measure of advancement is not to be determined by victories in the field. This is not a conflict of sections, sectionally considered; it is a conflict of principle; a struggle for the mastery between two systems of labor—between two orders of civilization; in short, between freedom and slavery, called respectively North and South. The chief strength of the South has heretofore lain here at the North. The aversion to emancipation, the hatred of the negro, the lingering love—latent or patent—of slavery, have constituted our greatest obstacles. These have been so far overcome that now we have the Executive and Legislative branches of the government, with the army and navy fairly and squarely planted on the side of freedom. The negro-enlistment bill has passed the popular branch of Congress. It has been thrown out of the Senate by its own friends, because—it is to be presumed—its passage was not considered necessary, while its discussion would have consumed time needed for other purposes. The passage of Mr. Chase's uniform currency and banking bill—which I take to be a foregone conclusion—will give the nation a better financial system than it has ever before enjoyed. The bills to ensure emancipation in Delaware, Maryland, Western Virginia and Missouri, will undoubtedly become laws. Thus the government, having overcome its most formidable enemies—which were those of its own household—is now for the first time fairly organized for victory in the field. Such victories, to the extent needed—that is, to the extent required for the final abolition of slavery—will be sure to come. For in a war between slavery and freedom, when the issue is fairly joined, the result

Miscellaneous Department.

"TO GIVE IS TO LIVE."

[There is a whole sermon on right living in this fine poem, which, estray in the newspaper world, has lost all signs of paternity.]

FOREVER the sun is pouring his gold
On a hundred worlds that beg and borrow;
His warmth he squanders on summits cold,
His wealth on the homes of want and sorrow.
To withhold his largess of precious light,
Is to bury himself in eternal night:
To give
Is to live.

The flower shines not for itself at all,
Its joy is the joy it freely diffuses;
Of beauty and balm it is prodigal,
And it lives in the life it sweetly loses.
No choice for the rose but glory or doom—
To exhale or smother, to wither or bloom:
To deny
Is to die.

The seas lend silvery rain to the land,
The land its sapphire streams to the ocean;
The heart sends blood to the brain of command,
The brain to the heart its lightning motion:
And ever and ever we yield our breath—
Till the mirror is dry, and images death:
To live
Is to give.

He is dead, whose hand is not opened wide
To help the need of a human brother;
He doubles the life of his life-long ride,
Who gives his fortunate place to another;
And a thousand million lives are his,
Who carries the world in his sympathies:
To deny
Is to die.

Throw gold to the far-dispersing wave,
And your ships sail home with tons of treasure;
Care not for comfort, all hardships brave,
And evening and age shall sup with pleasure;
Fling health to the sunshine, wind and rain,
And roses shall come to the cheek again:
To give
Is to live.

What is our life? Is it wealth and strength?
If we, for the Master's sake, will lose it,
We shall find it a hundred-fold, at length,
While they shall forever lose who refuse it;
And nations that save their union and peace
At the cost of right, their woe shall increase:
They save
A grave.

SPEECH OF WENDELL PHILLIPS, ESQ.,

At the Annual Meeting of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society, Thursday Evening, Jan. 29, 1863.

Phonographically reported by J. M. W. YERRINTON.

MR. PRESIDENT: I rejoice to share in the encouraging faith with which Mr. Garrison has described the progress of the anti-slavery idea. I have no doubt, as he has not, that in time, Freedom is to be the law of this government. That faith sustains us under great despondency as to the immediate result. But I suppose, keeping that hope still in our hearts, it is the duty of wise men to scrutinize the probable future lying immediately before them; to endeavor to know accurately the disposition of the contending parties. Putting aside, therefore, for a moment, the picture which he has drawn of the ultimate future, let us consider—what no man doubts—the existence of a considerable minority in those Northern States, who, without any moral judgment, *pro* or *con*, in regard to the system of slavery itself, but acting either from old association, from fondness for party leaders, from personal ambition, or from any other cause, mean industriously, within the next two years, to apply every means, to use every argument, and pour out wealth like water, in order to restore, in the best form they can, the supremacy of the Southern States over this nation. I think any man who doubts the existence of such a party must have failed to observe the extraordinary outbreak at Harrisburg, and the disgraceful riot at Albany, which nothing quelled but the cowardice of its chosen leaders, appalled at the storm they had raised—the fruit of their own folly. Such a one must have failed to note the honor done by the first city in the empire to an officer just cashiered by the government for failing to bring his troops into action, designedly, in one of the most important battles of the past year; and he must have failed also to observe, as I said this afternoon, that that unanimity of the press, with which we started in this war—a unanimity so perfect that neither the Boston *Post*, nor the New York *Herald*, nor the Chicago *Times* dared to insult the Northern people by one word adverse to the proclamation of Fremont—is at an end, and that the Democratic press of the country now indulges in a criticism of government, in an abuse of its supporters, in a recommendation of opposition to its laws, as distinct, as unblushing, as in the palmiest days of Democratic success. Any man who looks at these signs must notice a party which the President's indecision has called into existence—the old Democratic ally of the Slave Power. Now, the question is, What are its means and plans? On the fourth day of March, a Republican Senate and a Republican House are to be changed—the last very materially—by the introduction of a large Democratic element; sufficient, if not to block, at least to embarrass the action of the Executive. In the course of the Spring and Summer, 300,000 men leave our ranks. Not the most sanguine lover of his country dreams that, at this moment, either in the East or the West, the government can again call into the military ranks 300,000 white men. In front of us, again, is the Supreme Court. No man can tell definitely what its final judgment will be next January on the constitutionality of the recent measures of the President and of Congress. The most sanguine members of Congress are not certain that that Bench will not throw itself across the path of the Executive, and defy its right to use the method it is now using to put an end to the war. The men appointed by our own President, within twelve months, are not such that their own friends are willing absolutely to guarantee that they will stand by the President's proclamation. A case made up for that Court, and possibly decided against the Executive; following that, a proposal to the nation confused by this conflict between the great powers of the government; disheartened, perhaps, by ill-success on the field, and racked by party dissensions:—a National Convention—the South invited to it, and offered *carte blanche*—this is the picture of a possible future. These are the possibilities which the boldest party that this country ever knew—a party which Gen. Banks said, within two months, knew how to govern, while the Republicans had never learned the art—intend to endeavor to render actual. At any rate, with a timid party and an irresolute chief, they trust to contingencies to gain what they can in the weariness which the war begins to produce in some sections of the country. They have created between the East and the West a ripening feeling of hostility; so that this very week, one of the most radical members from the Western States, a man just elected to his office, told me that if there should be a separation, in any contingency, between the North and the South, blood would run in every town of his district—radically Republican as its recent election had proved it to be—on the issue whether the East should be adhered to by that section, or whether the South should be its chosen ally. That feeling the Democratic party means to use. I believe the *interests* of the West are a hundred fold more linked with the East than with the South. Where the Mississippi bears on its bosom one dollar's worth of Western produce, our rails and canals bring East fifty. How much the heart of the West clings to its birthplace, I need not say. Still, party clamor can for a time confuse and mislead a people against both their feeling and interest. It is useless for us, as moulders of public sentiment, to shut out of view the effect of that class of men and presses upon the immediate future that lies before us. Why is George B. McClellan received in this city? Not, certainly, because of any victories that he has gained. He is the first defeated General who was ever covered with laurels in the land he had impoverished and disgraced. He is received here as the corner-stone of a Democratic movement; as the representative of a sentiment that in due time will be used to block the Republican plans of the Administration. Wiser than his opponent, the Democrat is early in the field, and constant in his work.

With this possibility before us, what is our defence?—ranking ourselves, for the moment, with those citizens to whom at last Nationality means liberty, and can mean nothing else. In other words, what are the means by which the policy of the government shall be made an actual success, before these political barriers can be set up against it? Now, I value the proclamation (as my friend Garrison does) not as a finality. The finality will be only when, as Mr. Conway told us so eloquently from this platform, a fortnight ago, the government "loads its cannon with broken fetters, and fires them from the bastion of Absolute Justice" (applause)—when the government plants itself on the absolute right of every human being under its flag to liberty as an act of justice, whether with or without military necessity. But, if you cannot have the whole loaf, half of it is a great step toward your wishes. Mr. Lincoln has given us a proclamation which covers only half the ground, but it plants the whole idea; it concedes the whole question; it adopts the entire principle. It proclaims that, after attempting, for two years, to save the Union as it was, the Commander-in-Chief has come to the conclusion, and announces it, that the task is impossible; that slavery is not merely an evil, but that it is utterly incompatible with the safety of the State; that there can be no Union, unless the negro is made the equal of the white man; and that henceforth the Abolitionist, as well as the Whig, must sail under the same standard—"Liberty and Union—one and inseparable—now and forever." To be sure, he excepts out certain parts of the South—no matter! He has planted the seed. He cannot prescribe in what directions the branches shall grow. He has accepted the idea, and the idea will bear its own fruit. He has pledged the nation; and as long as the North exists as a nation, in honor as well as in interest, it can never forfeit the pledge it has made to three million of slaves. I know this much to the honor of the President: that in a private letter to the agent of ten rebel captains—which he never intended or supposed would be seen—he commences by saying: "I have pledged the faith of the nation to three million of negroes that they shall be free, and as far as I am concerned, no one of them shall ever have it to say that I broke the pledge" (prolonged applause). A man born and brought up in Kentucky, whose later years have been spent in striking an average between the Republicanism of North Illinois and the border-ruffian Democracy of its South—"Egypt," as we call it—it is not, of course, to be expected of him, that he shall be a ripened statesman, with broad culture, and an entire appreciation of the events amid which God has placed him. A State politician, standing between the weakest Republicanism and the bitterest Democracy, obliged, life-long, to conciliate each, he comes out just what that training has made him. But God has lifted him to the height of that proclamation. I do not believe that it is in his nature willingly to go back one inch from the position he took on the first day of January, 1863 (applause).

But the success of the proclamation does not lie in his willingness. It is not a man's motives that we have to discuss. It does not matter whether George B. McClellan was an intentional traitor or not. If he had set out, with double the intellect God ever gave him, to serve Jeff. Davis, he could not have served him better than he did (applause). What need now to go behind the results of his conduct for the sake of finding out his actual motive? So with Mr. Lincoln. Whether he is honest or whether he is dishonest, is a matter of very secondary importance to us. When the patient lies at the point of death, a mistake in the medicine is about equal to poison. If a Cunarder were in Boston harbor to-night with a gale such as sometimes blows there, and the captain heard the ship's keel touch first a rock to the right, and then another to the left, would he be much comforted if Robert B. Forbes stepped up to him and said, "That man knows nothing about the channel, but he is the honestest man in Boston"? Of course not. So the mere honest design of the individual actor is a matter of very secondary consideration in a time like this. It is intellect as well as honesty we need. Now, how shall the government be saved? No man can accurately judge the kaleidoscope of the future. It is a mixed mass. We do not know what elements are to make up that future, and the wisest has been disappointed in the whole history of the war. We can only guess, with the best certainty we may, and shape upon that expectation our idea of duty. How shall the President checkmate irrecoverably this Democratic move? No doubt the plot exists. Probably none of us will ever know—our children will read, when the archives of these times are opened—how often?—more than once—within the last twelve months our government has stood on the very brink of a *coup d'etat*, planned by Generals wearing its own uniform. How shall that danger be met? It seems to me that the lately adopted policy of the government provides the remedy. Put three hundred thousand black men on their feet in the Gulf States, and the case is beyond Democratic or any mere political doctoring (applause). We are told by Butler's staff that all the white men on the continent could not put the slaves of Louisiana back again in their chains without such scenes as have made St. Domingo red with blood to this day. Very likely. The same may be true, to some extent, of all the slave States. The civil machinery has gone to pieces. The slave stands anxiously waiting the opening of the door for his future. This government is to avail itself, not only of their direct military aid, but to take out of the arch of the Confederacy the keystone—its basis of labor—its four million loyal hearts—its trust that it may quit home and marshal its armies on the banks of the Rappahannock, certain that its plantation will be peace, and its labor go orderly forward. Destroy all this reliance. In other words, put four hundred thousand black men on their feet within twenty or forty days, before anything can culminate at the North, before any traitor in the Cabinet may endeavor to appal the President by the moral opposition of a Congress in existence, though not in session, known not to be in favor of his plan.

You must remember, that with an honest President, and a proclamation President, we have yet a President Kentucky-born. A very distinguished member of the House of Representatives said to me, when I urged the appointment of three additional judges to the Supreme bench, abolition by instinct, and by every drop of their blood as certainly as Samuel Sewell of this city—"Gladly would I join in an effort thus to fortify the Gibraltar against which we may be brought up with the prow of the ship dashed to pieces; but I tell you, sir, if I voted for the bill, I should have no confidence in the men whom the President would appoint under it. I would rather run the risk of the Court as it is, than with the addition of any men Abrahsm Lincoln would appoint under such a bill" ("Hear, hear"). Now, if that be the judgment of men standing guard on the very outmost walls, how much should the Northern mind keep itself alert and awake, to see that immediately, while the time serves us, this great and irrevocable step be taken!

Is there any likelihood of its being taken? I think there is (applause). Some men point with great pride—and it is a natural one—to the appointment of Hooker to the command of the army of the Potomac (applause). That is a great gain. He may have mud ten feet deep under his feet—there is none on his brain (great applause). He has a hot heart and a cool brain. Be patient with him, very patient. I was told by one who left Falmouth day before yesterday, that he had seen a twelve-pound cannon so deep in the mud that ten horses could not move it. Only the tops of the wheels that held it were visible above ground. Evidently, in such a case, no commander can take the field until he has provided himself against all possible contingencies. Give him time, and the heart of Joe Hooker will beat yet on the other side of Richmond ("Amen!" and enthusiastic applause). But I take no great stock in Richmond. I do not believe in the supreme efficiency of battle. Doubtless it would cheer the nation's heart; no doubt it would add to the prestige of our arms on the other side of the water; no doubt it would give a terrible blow to the Confederacy; but who dreams that the Southern Confederacy can ever be conquered by actual arms? Eight million of our own race, scattered over a territory almost like Switzerland—mountains and morasses, rivers and impenetrable woods, amid which, as John Neal said, forty years ago, the nations of Europe might be hidden from each other—who can hope that any mere military success, unaccompanied by anything else, can result in anything but merely holding such a people in uneasy subjection? The only real permanent success lies in the government honestly adopting the idea of the proclamation, as I take it, which is, that Northern civilization is to-day struggling with Southern civilization for predominance on this continent, and now, having gotten the right and the power to subdue its rival, the government should begin the process by assuming control of the territory, selling it out to loyal men, white and black, and putting school-houses and Bibles, ploughs, sewing-machines, and Northern institutions upon it. I found a humane and active-minded man at Washington, begging at the doors of the Departments that the Executive would assume the ownership of the abandoned plantations within reach of the guns of Fortress Monroe, and allow him to place upon them a force of contraband laborers five thousand strong, which the government holds to-day in its hands. Gen. Wool had generously given him the power which Dix recalled. Another mistake of the government. The apology is—government did not know Gen. Dix; did not quite believe he would do so; they find he will. I will recur to this point in a moment. That is one good beginning; but there is a better still. The government has found out another of its mistakes—and that an enormous one—by which they mistook Banks for an Abolitionist, and sent him down to New Orleans as a safer man to carry out the President's proclamation than Gen. Butler would be. He had no sooner got there than he stationed his troops in different parts of the country under our control, for the purpose of keeping the slaves from showing what they thought about the proclamation. If I am correctly informed, he sent one New Hampshire regiment to whip with their own hands the slaves of a plantation near New Orleans—slaves made wholesomely uneasy by the proclamation. He used a New York regiment to overawe another plantation. The President sits in his chair, and says to his visitors, "I wonder what the black men are going to do when they hear of my proclamation?" And, in the meantime, his last appointed General has loaded his muskets and pointed them at the blacks, to prevent their telling the President what they will do. How can gagged lips tell us their wishes? The government acknowledges its mistake. So it does in the appointment of Gov. Stanley. But, mark! all the mistakes of this government are on one side. They have never yet made a mistake in appointing an Abolitionist to anything. All their mistakes enure to the benefit of slavery. You know the fox said, when the lion invited him to his cave, "The footsteps all go in; I don't see any coming out." The circumstance was suspicious, and he declined to enter. When the government makes all its mistakes on one side, I decline to receive them as honest mistakes. If an intoxicated man falls impartially to the right and then to the left, you say he is honestly drunk; but if he fell always to the right, you would say he had a brick in that side of his hat (laughter). The government that makes all its mistakes on one side must have a constitutional bias in that direction. There must be somewhere a loadstone or a magnet that attracts it to one side, when it is not on the alert, when it is not bayonetted up to its duty on the other side. I say this, not very specially to blame the government, but merely to show that you cannot expect to make bricks without straw; that you cannot expect to make an Abolition statesman out of a Kentucky refugee brought up in "Egypt." But he is a very good President—as good as we could get—and certainly "available," and to be trusted, provided you watch him. At any rate, he is the best we can get; and we can have nobody else for two years; and therefore we might as well make up our minds, not only in virtue of his merits, which are considerable, but in virtue of the fact that we have no choice, to stand by him (applause).

Now, the government says that this mistake in regard to Banks shall be corrected (applause). To be sure, sixty golden days, every hour of them worth a thousand lives—every hour big with the fate of the Union—every hour pregnant with evil, which his hands can neither stay nor destroy—sixty golden days are to elapse, probably, before Butler can place himself where he stood before on the soil of Louisiana; but when he does, what is he? When he stands there, with the wish of the President to put two hundred thousand muskets into two hundred thousand black hands, what does he stand there? Why, he stands the most necessary and available man that could be sent there (applause). I am not here to praise him. I have not any faith to spare in converted Democrats (laughter and applause). I have nothing to say—as I just remarked of Gen. McClellan and Mr. Lincoln—of his motives or his principles; enough for me that I believe him heartily to accept, at this moment, the doctrine that there is no safety for the Union but in the liberty of every man within it (prolonged applause). I know he preached that doctrine at a time when nobody was watching him. It is said that last Summer, in the heat of the season, he summoned some forty slaveholders into his private parlor, and said—"Gentlemen, you cherish the dream that there is a Democratic party at the North, able to make you a bridge back to Washington. You are mistaken; they mean it, but they cannot do it. I am a Democrat. I came here a Democrat—a Hunker of the worst stripe you could have found at the North—but I tell you that I, digged out of that pit, will burn every house in Louisiana, and put every black man's hand on every white man's throat, before I will pull down that banner, and carry it home to Boston (prolonged and enthusiastic applause, followed by three cheers for Butler). I met a gentleman from Louisiana, a few days ago—thirty years a resident there—and he was exceedingly anxious to know what would be the reception of Gen. Butler in Massachusetts. But the value of the fact which I just now mentioned is in the meaning which underlies it. Most of our Generals have treated the rebels as if they were half right, and our own government as if they were half wrong. Now, the whole conduct of Gen. Butler has been in marked contrast to these other cases. He evidently looks upon himself as the government, and the other party as insurgents, with no rights whatever. England may call them "belligerents"; he tells them that if the government stops them anywhere short of the gibbet, they may consider themselves very well used. It is the government speaking to rebels—not one belligerent power speaking to another. His whole conduct has been of a similar character. When he first opened his court in the St. Charles Hotel, it is said—and the anecdote is only significant because it shows the position which Gen. Butler took from the first—"I am the government; other nations may make you what they please—to us you are traitors, and deserve the gallows; if we stop you short of it, get down on your knees and thank us"—I say, when Gen. Butler opened his court at the St. Charles, the Mayor came to him, and began some remarks. "Stop, sir! go out and quell that mob, before you talk to me." "I can't do it," said the cringing official. "Then I will do it," said Butler. Going to the door, and getting his artillery planted, he stepped back and said, "Now, to save bloodshed, go out and quell that mob." "I dare not try," said the Mayor. "Then my vocation begins." Turning to the door, Soule advanced to make some explanation or protest. "Stay you in your chair, sir, I saw enough of you at Charleston; consider yourself under arrest" (laughter and applause). That is the voice of government addressing traitors; not the voice of one war power addressing another. I know the drawbacks; I know the exceptions. Dreadful! thank God, they rest not on our consciences! I know history will say that twenty men, on a distant plantation, hearing that a Yankee held rule in New Orleans, fought their way, with scythes and cane-knives, through every obstacle, until they reached the streets of New Orleans, and were shot down by his police. I know, also, that his associate, the commander of the fleet, having employed three thousand negroes to dig that ill-fated canal at Vicksburg, when the vessels weighed anchor, with the Stars and Stripes floating over them, and the poor blacks stood upon the bank, with their shovels and bundles, and begged to be taken off, they were left to stripes and bondage (sensation). All true! And yet the negro forgives. He forgets the single fact, and remembers only the great current of the idolized General's decisions. He has heard, long before this, that when he reached his Northern home, he declared he knew no Union which did not cover liberty. Therefore, when Gen. Butler goes back, he goes back the symbol of an idea. He goes back the proclamation in boots and shoulder-straps (loud applause). What does the slave want? He cannot read; a thousand acts of the government have confused him. Three thousand men returned from Vicksburg—four hundred from Corinth—perhaps twenty thousand returned in all since the war began—he hardly knows how to judge. But if there is a man goes down there whose name has become the symbol of liberty, he trusts the symbol, not the word. There is one man on this continent whose foot in North Carolina would make a thrill on the solid earth felt at New Orleans—he is the proclamation in flesh and blood, and his name is Fremont (enthusiastic cheering).

Now, the government sends Butler to New Orleans with power to put two hundred thousand muskets into two hundred thousand black hands. Good! It goes to Hunter, and gives him fifty thousand muskets to put into fifty thousand black hands; and it says to him: "With the assistance of Gen. Foster, take Charleston in one hand and Savannah in the other, and dash them in pieces like a potter's vessel!" (Loud applause.) He is to begin. Doubtless, the government that plans this, and sends down authority to execute it, is in earnest; and if its dictates are obeyed within a hundred days, the Ship of State floats in calm waters, where no Democratic mutiny can touch it (applause). We said to the President: "Complete the circle of fire that is to kill the Confederacy! Turn out this renegade Stanley of North Carolina, and send Fremont in his place! (Applause.) Make your way, with Virginia on one side and Alabama on the other, right into the very midst of the Gulf States, and there complete, by reorganization, the conquest of the Confederacy!" The answer was, "I have not heard a complaint against Stanley for these four months." Where were his paid advisers, three hundred strong, supported by government, right in Washington to keep him informed? We must keep him informed. You and I and the great public are never to let the protest of indignant manhood be silent for a moment against the pro-slavery agent of a government that dies unless it is anti-slavery. And yet, throughout the whole South, it would probably be true, in one-half the cases, that the appointees of this government are appointed on the principle that they shall be agreeable to the pro-slavery men of their own State—as if enemies were to be conquered by pleasing them, and not by fighting them. The government at Washington seems to have that idea, not Butler. Remember his merit! If I were he, and were to die soon, I would have a tombstone, inscribed, "I was the only Major-General of the United States that ever hung a traitor; that ever, by the boldness of my action, and the method of the death, told the world it was a government struggling with rebels, with the right and purpose to put them beneath its laws, at any cost." I value Gen. Butler's fame just in this proportion: because, though not an Abolitionist, he has seen the policy of the government from the right stand-point. For that reason, I value, as of great significance, the willingness of the government to correct its mistake by replacing him at New Orleans.

It seems to me that we are to urge immediate action in regard to this colored mass. Abolition, in other words, becomes the sheet anchor of the preservation of the Union. Immediately! A hundred days, and we come on to that Summer which may precipitate us into Democratic resistance—possibly into foreign intervention—possibly into commercial panic, which would add still more to the dangers and disasters of our situation. Abolition, therefore, is what we need. And not merely abolition. You do not abolish a thing by simply annihilating it. You know, in the Bible, when they swept the chamber clean, and garnished it, seven devils came back because there were no angels there. Now, if Joe Hooker should sweep Virginia clean, within thirty days of his leaving it, Jefferson Davis would come back, with seven devils worse than himself (if he could find them) and occupy it, unless you put freedom there (laughter and applause). That is, unless the government recognizes its right and the necessity of not leaving a vacuum in the slave States, but of planting there military colonies, civil institutions, the loyalism of the white race and the black race. In other words, unless it recognizes the theory that there is but one power in this nation—the North; not the North by geography, but the element, North—freedom—nationality; that at the South are only soil and people, without governments; that we have the right to guarantee Republican institutions to them. We must urge on Republicans the adoption of that idea, *immediately!* Port Royal, Fortress Monroe, New Orleans, Louisiana, are all to be covered with freedom. *Bold!* BOLD! BOLD! is to be the motto of Republicanism (great applause). Take the power and use it! Never falter with the idea of saving the State, a caste, a politician, or a party! Some men said to us, when we urged this doctrine at Washington, "we dare not do that. Suppose we are defeated? Suppose that, having angered all the elements around us, we go down?" Our answer was—"Go down, as the Cumberland did, every gun shotted to the lips, and every banner flying at the mast head! (Great cheering.) Go down—a party that understood itself and its enemy, and met him eye to eye, and was fairly beaten! Don't go down like a parcel of spaniels, tied neck and heels, and handed over, duped, and deceived, to a wily Secretary of State, who laughed at you as he completed his treason!"

Well, how are we to reach that consummation? How are we to convince the government of the necessity of this action? I think it is to be done by a public opinion at the North that shall rouse all your political leaders, and make them do your work. Demand of them a declaration of war against everything that stands in the way of that policy. Some of us said—I would not make the whole delegation responsible for this—"Here is a Cabinet which your own Senatorial caucus has declared to be a snake in the way of our progress, an obstacle, a concealed enemy, a determined, purposed foe. You have gone up to the President, and have announced your belief, privately, in his ear, and he cuffed your ears and sent you out again. Now, what do you mean to do? Sit down?" We contended not. We said to them this: "When a man goes to Abraham Lincoln, he goes in his private capacity. If Charles Sumner enter the White House, and sits down with the President, the advice he gives is that of Charles Sumner, and undoubtedly Mr. Lincoln thanks him for it; but if I were President Lincoln, President of the United States, I would say to him—'You want me to remove a great officer, whom you think deficient in purpose, and in understanding of this crisis, perhaps in loyalty, and you come here to advise me to take that responsibility, officially. I am much obliged to you for the friendship. Now do your duty, as you ask me to do mine! Go out into the Senate Chamber of the Capitol, and, not as Charles Sumner, but as the State of Massachusetts (applause), the responsible representative of a sovereign State, tell the world the facts which you and I know, and which it is your duty to reveal. Make your own responsibility perfect—do your share—make the bridge on which I can walk over—share with me officially in the responsibility, and then I will move! In other words, let the official responsibility of the Senate concur with its private admonition, and help the President to that change in the Administration which fourteen States have declared to be indispensable.'"

The Springfield *Republican* said, a day or two ago, in anticipation of a lecture from me, that I had charged Mr. Seward with certain offences which his friends denied, and that it would take three men like me to make anybody believe the story. Well, rural journals are frequently green (laughter); but there are men at Washington who know every one of those facts which I have stated, and they can put them on the record, where not even a country editor could be dull enough to deny them. I said he crushed an emancipation proclamation designedly, and boasted that he crushed it; and, now, when the statement has been bruited, by private lips, half over the continent, he only condescends to say—not that he did not crush it, which his friends undertook to say at first, but that he crushed it because it was not good enough; whereas, those who have seen that first proclamation, very excellent Republicans, allege that although it was not quite up, in some respects, to the proclamation of September 22d, yet in some respects it was far beyond it, and on the whole good enough for them. All I contended was, that the man whose boast was that he strangled the policy which the President declares is necessary to save the Union, ought not, on the principles of Parliamentary government, to claim the right to execute a measure, the necessity for which he had always denied; that common sense required, when the ship passed into a new channel, it should have a new pilot, one who well understood the quicksands and the rocks, and whose whole heart was hot to save the ship. Is that unreasonable? Parliamentary life in English history has always acknowledged this rule. I think that the man who honestly and sincerely, from the nature of his mind, believes that the way to conquer the South is to coax it—to send begging messengers to Richmond—that the way to end this war is to go down on your knees at the feet of your enemy, and try to conciliate him—is not the man for the hour. Professor Rarey frightens his horse first, and then soothes him. Our Secretary of State would soothe him first, and promise never to frighten him. It is the dictate of common sense, that when, after two years' groping, the national hand fastens itself upon the hilt of the weapon, it should have a leader in that struggle who believes, in his heart, both in the goodness of his cause and the necessity of this method. You and I will never, unless with great labor and after many months, attain that consummation; but it is in the power of the men whom we have sent to create public opinion at Washington, to place such facts on record that Mr. Lincoln shall soon be surrounded by men who will uphold and not oppose him. Why, you can trace Wm. H. Seward in every one of his appointments—in England, Portugal, North Carolina, California. In no one instance has he appointed a man who does not, to-day, stand blocking the way of the President, unless Charles Francis Adams be an exception, and he gained his office by promising to support such a policy, and saved what honor he has left by refusing to keep the pledge.

It seems to me we have great reasons for encouragement. The President cannot stop. He is on the edge of Niagara. Seward is a chip, and if the President tries to hold by him, they will go over together (applause). I do not believe in the possibility of retarding the solution of the great national problem. The slave has heard of it. Every contraband upon whom you can lay your hands knows it. Col. Higginson writes me that every one of his soldiers understands this question as well as he does—and we know he understands it down to the root. If that be true of Port Royal, it is certainly true of Louisiana. Contrabands brought here from the Gulf and the upper parts of Alabama allege that they understand it; and the colored men of North Carolina understand it so well, that they join in a universal protest against the burden that has been imposed upon them, in the person of Gov. Stanley. Wherever, in the slave States, you find a colored man, you find him waiting for a Union Governor, and, I believe, many white men, too. Gen. Butler did one thing: he protected free speech in New Orleans every month that he was there, after the first. A gentleman from that city assured us that it has been faithfully used; that no man has feared, or needed to fear, while Gen. Butler lived in the St. Charles Hotel, to express the most anti-slavery sentiment that the human heart can conceive. The long pent-up agony of men who had lived there cowards, at last found expression; and this same gentleman assured us, that if there could be a guarantee that the nation would keep possession of that city, there is a large majority of its white inhabitants fully willing that the North should come there and break every fetter, and willing to coöperate with it, too—willing to uphold it to the last extremity; and that when Gen. Butler said two thousand men followed him to the levee with blessings, promises of support, and commendations of his official course, he by no means exaggerated the facts of the case. Well, if we have begun to plant dissent from the slaveholding aristocracy in the third capital of the Empire, there is good reason to hope. But we are not to relax our individual testimony. We are to remember, that as men we are of no account whatever—dust in the balance—ground betwixt the upper and nether millstones of party into fine dust; but as righteous, honest, constant, unceasing representatives of that moral sense of the North which created the Republican party, and can alone save it from ruin, every Abolitionist, with a twenty years' reputation behind him, is twice as good as a Brigadier (applause), and that's a modest estimate. The parties are fairly marshalled. A Southerner dares to boast in Washington to-day—a Southerner who still holds his position under government dares to boast in the very chambers of the Capitol to-day—"There will be a reaction within nine months; and the first man we will hang in this very city shall be the newly elected Senator of Massachusetts." Yes, the very office-holders of the government make that boast to-day; and that he shall not hang alone; and that in every Northern State, also, unless their confederates fail them, there will be a reaction that shall make the free spirit quail before the indignation of a country which it has made childless and poor. They do not reckon wholly without their host. Earnest men, old men, quiet citizens, of long experience and very moderate views, would have told you, in the city of New York, last week—"Outside of the State, you don't know how near we stand, this day, to the brink of civil war, in these very streets. You don't know, unless the fears of its own leaders defeat it, and unless the undeviating firmness of the government supports us, how near we are to an exhibition of strife that would almost shipwreck the North." We tided over that danger, because the masses are not willing to follow their leaders; and there is one ground of my hope, even if the President delay, even if the hundred thousand men do not spring into arms at the bidding of the government. I look upon Fremont and Butler as available for one reason, no matter whether they are good Generals or not. They are men who, in the course of a month, can raise more black men than any other names. That is the reason they are useful. But suppose they fail. Not impossible. Two million is a large mass. Ignorant, half-starved—if the master starves, how much food has the slave?—if the master goes barefoot, how much clothing has the slave?—divided, disorganized, unarmed, disheartened by this waiting for two years, it may take some months to move that inert mass. I don't know that it can be fully done for twelve months. Great masses move slowly. If it were not that the first heralding of the danger will make the knees of the slaveholder knock, I should have less hope. But to-day, there is one way by which Hooker might insure himself victory. Send Sigel down on his left flank and some other General on his right, and tell them to put a musket and a lucifer match in every negro's right hand, and Lee would find himself without any base of operations (applause). But the government is not ready to have such a plan tried in Virginia. It may hesitate elsewhere. There is one hope yet. Possibly the Democratic mass will not follow its leaders. There is more honesty in the people than the leaders reckon on. They start back from the gulf to which their old leaders invite them. They see some honored and trusted names that invite them on the other side. The thing that produced Democratic successes was not the craft of its leaders, nor the disposition of its rank and file. It was because the President gave his own party no food to live on. They had neither a fact nor a principle; they had neither successes nor ideas; they had neither a past nor a future, and the party starved. Here and there, the proclamation of September 22d saved it. In some instances, the Republicans were defeated because it came too late to penetrate the mind. One Ohio member told me that was his case; and another Western member assured me that it was the criss-cross, equivocal talk of the President with the ministers of Chicago, that defeated him. It got scattered over his district before the proclamation came, and convinced the farmers that that expressed the real wish of the President; and when the proclamation came, they thought it a mere imposture, or something forced upon him by the Abolitionists. We, too, may be defeated in our anticipated successes. But there is another reason for hope; and that is, perhaps the maiden, however passionately wooed, will not say, Yes. Possibly Jefferson Davis will not come to the banquet. He means to be independent. He really, honestly means to have the Confederacy all to himself. He knows, that no matter what the Democracy behind him promise—they may gag three hundred thousand pulpits, and a whole Capitol full of Congressmen, but there is one lip they cannot gag [pointing to Mr. Garrison, when the audience applauded enthusiastically], and as long as that is a fact, he knows he is not safe. He don't want to have that man for his neighbor. There is only one possible confederacy into which he will come, and that is when thoroughly humbled—not only whipped—that is one thing—but *convinced* he is whipped, and that is a very different thing, he may consent to terms. As my friend the President [Edmund Quincy, Esq.] used to say, in former years, "The Whig party of this commonwealth must not only be killed, but killed and buried three times over, before they will have the remotest idea that they are dead." And so the South must be not only beaten, but must be convinced that she is beaten, before she will accept any terms. There is no great probability of that coming within a year, and if it does not, we have another chance for safety, and that is gaining time—which is everything. Abraham Lincoln cannot resist the national impulse. Events, stronger than he is, are hurrying you and me, and him, also, along with the current, and, whether we wish it or not, before 1865, every slave in the Union will have received the promise of the government of his liberty, as I believe. Already, Maryland stretches out her hands to the North, and says to the National government, "Only let Congress promise that every man in the State shall have money for his slave, without inquiring what he has done in the past, if he will only promise to be a good boy in the future, and we can carry your emancipation policy throughout the State in twelve months." Maryland and Kentucky could be brought into line—nobody would dream of asking where Delaware was—and of what great importance are Tennessee and Kentucky when once the line begins to break? The only thing we have to do is to prevent the Republican leaders from falling asleep, and be careful not to trust them when they are awake (laughter and applause). Remember what digged them out of the pit! The moral success of a party never silent, and claiming, in the name of a God of Justice, the freedom of the slave. Lower no demand! Spare no criticism! Spare no public officer! Demand of the President of the United States that he shall keep his ear open to the complaints of the people; and then the time will soon come, even within our day, when new commonwealths will start up on the other side of Mason and Dixon's line, whe her black or white, no man cares. Sooner than you imagine. In Kansas, the miniature of this struggle, the Southern blusterer, demanding everything at twelve o'clock to-day, was on his knees at the feet of the Free State people the next day at twelve o'clock. Gas in the balloon! All out in twelve hours! It is not at all impossible that the same thing may take place in the greater camp of the Southern Confederacy. I believe that God never lifted the nation to the sublime height of that proclamation only to dash it down again to pieces! (Applause.)

Three years ago you and I sat in this hall, remembering, with sad hearts, the fate of John Brown and his associates. We had just come home from laying his body among the rocks he loved. A private merchant of Philadelphia, who went to claim his body of Gov. Wise, walked through insults and threats to Harper's Ferry, and stayed there, holding his life in his hand, for two days, amid the anger of the populace of that little town. To-day a Brigadier-General of the United States, that man holds, and has held for many a month, the control of that district; and with infinite joy he found devolved upon him, by the necessity of the hour and the orders of his superiors, the duty of burning that part of the town, and that right hand which lifted the coffin of John Brown to its place at the station, by the orders of his government put the first torch to the hotel in which he was insulted! (Applause.) And the conflagration was not stopped until, with poetic justice, he commanded his brigade to spare the engine-house, the Gibraltar from which the brave old man fired his first gun at Virginia slavery (renewed applause). That place stands to-day under the military orders of the friend of John Brown; and every roof that he looked upon with disgust when he went there to claim the old man's dust has vanished, except the one which Brown himself made historical and immortal—the engine-house which he defended for twenty-four hours. [VOICES—"Tell us his name."] HECTOR TYNDALE—first a Colonel, now a Brigadier in the volunteer army; the man who went with MILLER MCKIM to claim the body of Brown, and brought it to Philadelphia, guarding it against the mob, and giving it in peace into the hands of other friends. I think when Providence gives us, in three short years, so poetic a retribution, we may hope that the ideas the martyr loved will one day put the torch to everything in the Confederate States which he hated, and save only that which he loved (loud applause).

GODWARD AND MANWARD.

"Do you know Mr. Tabor?" said one to John Leland.
"O! yes," said the merry divine,
"I should know the old man if I saw him in Zealand,
Because he's a deacon of mine."

"What sort of a man is your friend, Deacon Tabor?"
Said the querist, "I'm anxious to learn."
"O, I don't want to speak any ill of my neighbor,"
The Elder replied in his turn.

But the querist rejoined, "We have lately had dealings
With the Deacon in butter and grain,
And things have occurred that have injured our feelings,
Which your answer perhaps will explain."

"O, if that is the case, I will answer, and willing,
And tell how his character stands;
For I know, if I do, I am only fulfilling
A duty my Master commands.

"He is *Godward* devout, you can see by his manner,
Too plain and emphatic to err,
But *manward*, manœuvering 'neath traffic's gay banner,
He's a little grain twistical, sir."

TRUE GREATNESS consists in asking ourselves, first, not what is expedient or safe, but what is generous, excellent, and acceptable to God; and in forming purposes of rectitude with a force which man and time and suffering cannot subdue.—*Channing.*

THE solitary thinker, who in a moment of extatic action in his closet at midnight discovers a truth, discovers it for all the world and for eternity.—*Theodore Parker.*

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